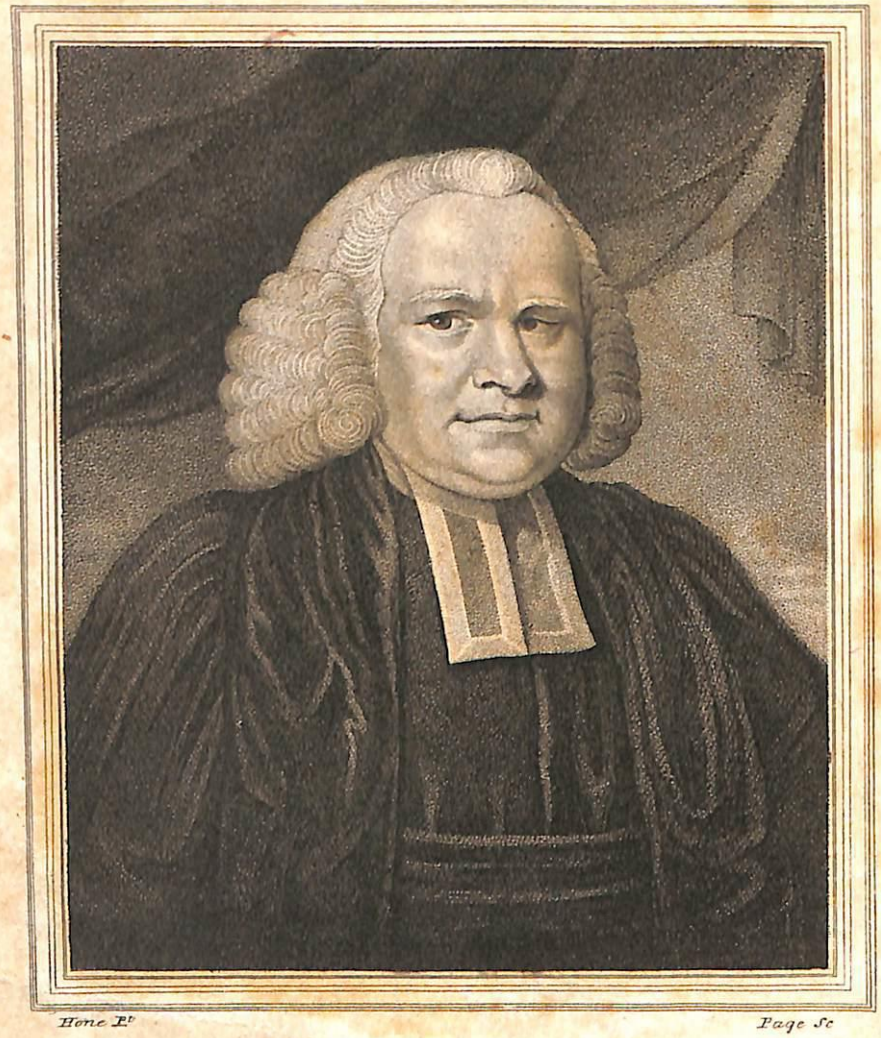


Hone Pt Page Sc

REVp G. WHITEFIELD, A.M.

MEMOIRS

OF THE LATE REVEREND

GEORGE WHITEFIELD, A.M.

OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE, OXFORD;

CHAPLAIN TO THE LATE

RIGHT HON. SELINA COUNTESS DOWAGER OF HUNTINGDON:

FAITHFULLY SELECTED FROM

HIS ORIGINAL PAPERS:

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

Extracts from the Funeral Sermons

PREACHED ON THE OCCASION OF HIS DEATH.

COMPILED BY THE LATE

REV. JOHN GILLIES, D.D.

Minister of the College Church of Glasgow.

TO WHICH ARE NOW ADDED,

ORIGINAL LETTERS

FROM THE REV. MESSRS. JOHN WESLEY, RALPH ERSKINE, E. JONES, JOHN BERRIDGE, AND DR. ERSKINE;

With Fac Similes of their Hand Writing;

THE TRIAL OF THE HAMPTON RIOTERS; AND REMARKS ON A PAMPHLET ENTITLED "THE ENTHUSIASM OF METHODISTS AND PAPISTS COMPARED," &c. &c.

WITH FAC SIMILES OF MR. WHITEFIELD'S HAND WRITING.

Revised and corrected, with Observations illustrative and justificatory,

By JOHN JONES.

Μὴ θαύμάσῃς ὅτι εἶπόν σοι· Δεῖ ὑμᾶς γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν.——ΙΩΑΝ. Κεφ. γ'. ζ'.

Now truth perform thine office, waft aside
The curtain drawn by prejudice and pride;
Reveal (the man is dead) to wond'ring eyes,
This more than monster in his proper guise.
He loved the world that hated him: the tear
That dropp'd upon his bible was sincere.
Assail'd by scandal, and the tongue of strife,
His only answer was—a blameless life. COWPER.

London: Printed by Joyce Gold, Shoe Lane.

PUBLISHED BY T. WILLIAMS, STATIONERS'-COURT; GALE AND CURTIS, PATERNOSTER-ROW; AND L. B. SEELEY, FLEET-STREET.

1812.

METHODIST
CENTER
BX425.3
A7
G481m
1812

CONTENTS.

Page

ADVERTISEMENT i

CHAP I.

Birth and parentage of Mr. Whitefield 7
Early appearances of his eloquence at school 8
At the age of seventeen, brought under the prevailing influence of religious impressions 10

CHAP. II.

At eighteen, goes to the University of Oxford, and becomes acquainted with the Methodists 11
Is treated with great kindness by the Rev. Messrs. John and Charles Wesley 12
Endangers his health by excessive bodily austerities, but is happily recovered 13
After his recovery, feels great peace and joy in believing on the Son of God 14
Erects a religious society of young persons at Gloucester.. *ibid.*
Is ordained by Bishop Benson in the 22d year of his age .. 15
His behaviour on that occasion ..... *ibid.*
Preaches his first sermon at Gloucester ..... *ibid.*
Returns to Oxford 16
Is called to officiate at the Tower ..... *ibid.*
And at Dummer, in Hampshire 17
Longs to go abroad, and preach the Gospel in Georgia..... *ibid.*
Gladly embraces the first appearance of an invitation to go thither ..... *ibid.*
His great popularity at Gloucester, Bristol, and London, while he prepares to go abroad 18
Preaches in London nine times a-week 20
Opposition from some of the Clergy ..... *ibid.*

CHAP. III.

Embarks for Georgia, December 1737 22
His behaviour on board 23
Touches at Gibraltar, where he is courteously received 25
Remarkable particulars in his voyage from Gibraltar to Georgia ..... *ibid.*
His observations upon the state of the Colony, at his first arrival 29
Is convinced of the great utility of an Orphan-house there .. 30

CHAP. IV.

Re-embarks for England to receive Priest's orders, and get contributions for the Orphan-house 34
Is driven into Limerick harbour in Ireland, and is kindly

Page

treated by Bishop Burscough, Dr. Delany, Bishop Rundle, and Archbishop Bolton 35
At his arrival in London, meets with a cold reception from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London 36
The Trustees for Georgia receives him more cordially..... 37
Offence taken at his Journals ..... *ibid.*
Several churches are refused him, but he is more followed by the people than ever ..... *ibid.*
Receives Priest's orders from Bishop Benson, Jan. 1739.. 38
Makes collections for several charitable purposes..... *ibid.*
Preaches to the colliers in Kingswood 40
——— in Wales with Mr. Howel Harris 43
Ventures to preach in Moorfields 45

CHAP. V.

Preaches on Kennington Common and Blackheath, to prodigious multitudes, who were all attention 46
Embarks the second time for America, August, 1739..... 47
Preaches at Philadelphia and New York, and in several places in Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas 48
While making collections for the Orphan-house, hires a place for the reception of the poor children 52
Begins to build the house, March 1740..... 53

CHAP. VI.

Preaches in various places with great apparent success..... 54
Receives pressing invitations to New England 62
His reception there ..... *ibid.*
Comes back to Philadelphia, and preaches to several thousands, in a house built for that purpose, since his last departure.. 67
Returns to England in Spring, 1741 70

CHAP. VII.

The people's behaviour towards him greatly changed 71
Unwillingly parts from Messrs. John and Charles Wesley.. *ibid.*
Occasion of building the Tabernacle 74
Is solicited to visit Scotland 75
His parting from Messrs. Erskine 79

CHAP. VIII.

Letters shewing his reception, ministrations, and success, at the principal places in Scotland..... 81
At Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and smaller places..... 81 to 93
A view of the whole (in notes) from the posthumous papers of a learned gentleman in Scotland 95

CHAP. IX.

Returns to England, October 1741..... 98
His marriage at Abergavenny ..... *ibid.*
His success at Bristol and London ..... *ibid.*

Page
Ventures to preach in Moorfields in the holiday season 101
Remarkable success of that hazardous attempt 102

CHAP. X.

Makes a second visit to Scotland, June 1742 104
The religious concern at Cambuslang, &c. 105
Mr. Whitefield's account of it 114
Preaches in many towns and villages in Scotland 115
Is alarmed with accounts of the Spaniards landing in Georgia 117

CHAP. XI.

His labours at London and Bristol, and in Gloucestershire and South Wales, 1743 118
Continues to travel and preach through the country in the months of November and December 121
The birth and death of his only child 122
Obtains a sentence against certain rioters for abusing the Methodists 123
Writes his letters to the Bishops and to the Rev. Mr. Church 125
Is in danger of being murdered in bed at Plymouth 127

CHAP. XII.

Embarks the third time for America, August 1744 129
Soon after his arrival is brought to the gates of death 133
His reception at Boston, different from what it was formerly 131
Preaches to the officers and soldiers that went against Cape Breton, 1745 134
Religious concern under the ministry of Gilbert Tennent, among the people of New England; and of Mr. David Brainard among the Indians 137
In Virginia he is much weakened by a complication of diseases; yet continues to preach as often as he could 138

CHAP. XIII.

Goes to Bermudas for the recovery of his health, and his Journal there 140
Takes shipping for England, June 1748; and when on board revises and corrects his Journals 152

CHAP. XIV.

On his arrival at London, is sent for by Lady Huntingdon, to preach at her house 154
Several of the Nobility desire to hear him ..... *ibid.*
Makes a third visit to Scotland 155
Debates concerning him in the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr.. *ibid.*
Has thoughts of turning his Orphan-house into a College, if the Trustees would put the Colony of Georgia upon a better footing 158
Corresponds with Mr. Hervey ..... *ibid.*
Is invited to Leeds by Mr. Wesley's Societies there 161

Page
Has an interview with Dr. Doddridge, Mr. Hervey, &c. 163
Makes another visit to Scotland, July, 1750 165
After returning to London, is seized with a fever, and inflammation of the lungs 166

CHAP. XV.

His first visit to Ireland, May 1751 168
Returns from Ireland by Glasgow and Edinburgh 169
Particulars relating to his visits in Scotland, in a note ..... *ibid.*
Embarks the fourth time for America, where he finds the Orphan-house affairs flourishing 173
Does not stay the Summer season in America, on account of his health 174
Is glad to find at his return to England, May 1752, that Georgia was likely to be put upon a better footing ..... *ibid.*
Makes another visit to Edinburgh and Glasgow 175
Mr. Hervey and he revise each other's manuscripts 177
Erects a large new Tabernacle in London, and opens it 179

CHAP. XVI.

Preaches at Glasgow against the play-house there, 1753 180
His success at Newcastle, Leeds, Oulney, &c. 181
Opens the new Tabernacle at Bristol 182
Hastens to London to pay his last respects to Mr. John Wesley, who was thought to be dying 183
Is visited by Mr. Tennent and Mr. Davies from America .. *ibid.*
March 1754, makes a fifth voyage to America, by Lisbon, where he stays some weeks ..... *ibid.*
His reflections upon the Popish processions, &c. 184
Visits the college of New Jersey, and preaches several times before the Synod that met there 186
Has some thoughts of going to the West Indies ..... *ibid.*
Receives the agreeable news that a Governor was nominated for Georgia, and his friend, Mr. Habersham, made Secretary 187
Prejudices against him in New England, &c. subsided ..... *ibid.*
In Spring, 1755, returns to England, and rejoices to see the number of Evangelical Ministers increased 188
Opens the Tabernacle at Norwich ..... *ibid.*
Preaches against Popery and arbitrary power (the nation being threatened with an invasion) 189
Is obliged to be silent a few days in November, by a sore throat, which threatened an inflammatory quinsey ..... *ibid.*
Meets with great opposition when preaching at Long-acre chapel, near the play-houses 190
His letters to the Bishop of B—— on that occasion ..... *ibid.*
May, 1756, he begins to build his Chapel in Tottenham-court-road 193
Makes another visit to Scotland, where his usefulness is acknowledged by the friends of civil government ..... *ibid.*

Page

CHAP. XVII.

In Spring, 1757, he again visits Scotland, and preaches at Edinburgh during the time of the General Assembly 195
At Glasgow he makes a collection for the poor of that city. *ibid.*
From Glasgow goes a second time to Ireland..... 197
Narrowly escapes being murdered by the Popish rabble .... *ibid.*
After his return to London, is brought very low by his extraordinary labours and thoughtfulness 199
Feb. 1758, builds alms-houses for widows around his chapel. *ibid.*
Goes again to Edinburgh, where his preaching is acknowledged as formerly 200

CHAP. XVIII.

Summer, 1759, he makes another visit to Edinburgh 202
Collections made at his sermons, for the benefit of the Orphan-hospital in Edinburgh 203
Is ridiculed in a Farce called The Minor 204
February 13, 1761, collects near 600l. for the distressed German Protestants, and the sufferers in Boston 206
His health, which had long been bad, now grows worse, so that he is laid aside from preaching for some weeks 207
In Spring, 1762, goes to Bristol, when his health is so far restored, that he if able to preach 4 or 5 times a-week... 208
When he returns to London, the cares and labours that throng upon him, are ready to bring him low again..... *ibid.*
Goes a voyage to Holland ..... *ibid.*
Visits Scotland again in Autumn 1762..... 209
Summer, 1763, embarks the sixth time for Ame ica, at Greenock 210
Is forbid by the physicians to go to Georgia, till he gets more strength..... *ibid.*
While at New York, during the winter, he finds prejudices strangely subsided 211
March, 1764, preaches in the places round Boston, and is delighted with the sight of Mr. Wheelock's Indians..... 212
Returns from Boston southward through New York, Philadelphia, Virginia, and Carolina, and arrives at the Orphan-house in December..... 213
Prosperous state of affairs there..... 214
Judging that a college was much wanted in Georgia, he returns to England, to apply for a charter, Summer 1765..... 215
Opens Lady Huntingdon's chapel at Bath..... 216

CHAP. XIX.

Mr. Occum, an Indian minister, preaches at Tottenham-court chapel..... 218
Preaches to a numerous company of the nobility at Bath, November 1766..... 219
Issue of his negotiations about the intended college at Georgia, October 1767 221

Page

Makes a collection at the Tabernacle for the Society for promoting Religious Knowledge among the poor 222
Summer, 1768, once more goes to Edinburgh 224
Mrs. Whitefield dies 225
He opens Lady Huntingdon's chapel in Wales ..... *ibid.*
——————————— at Tunbridge 226
In Sept. embarks the seventh and last time for America .... *ibid.*

CHAP. XX.

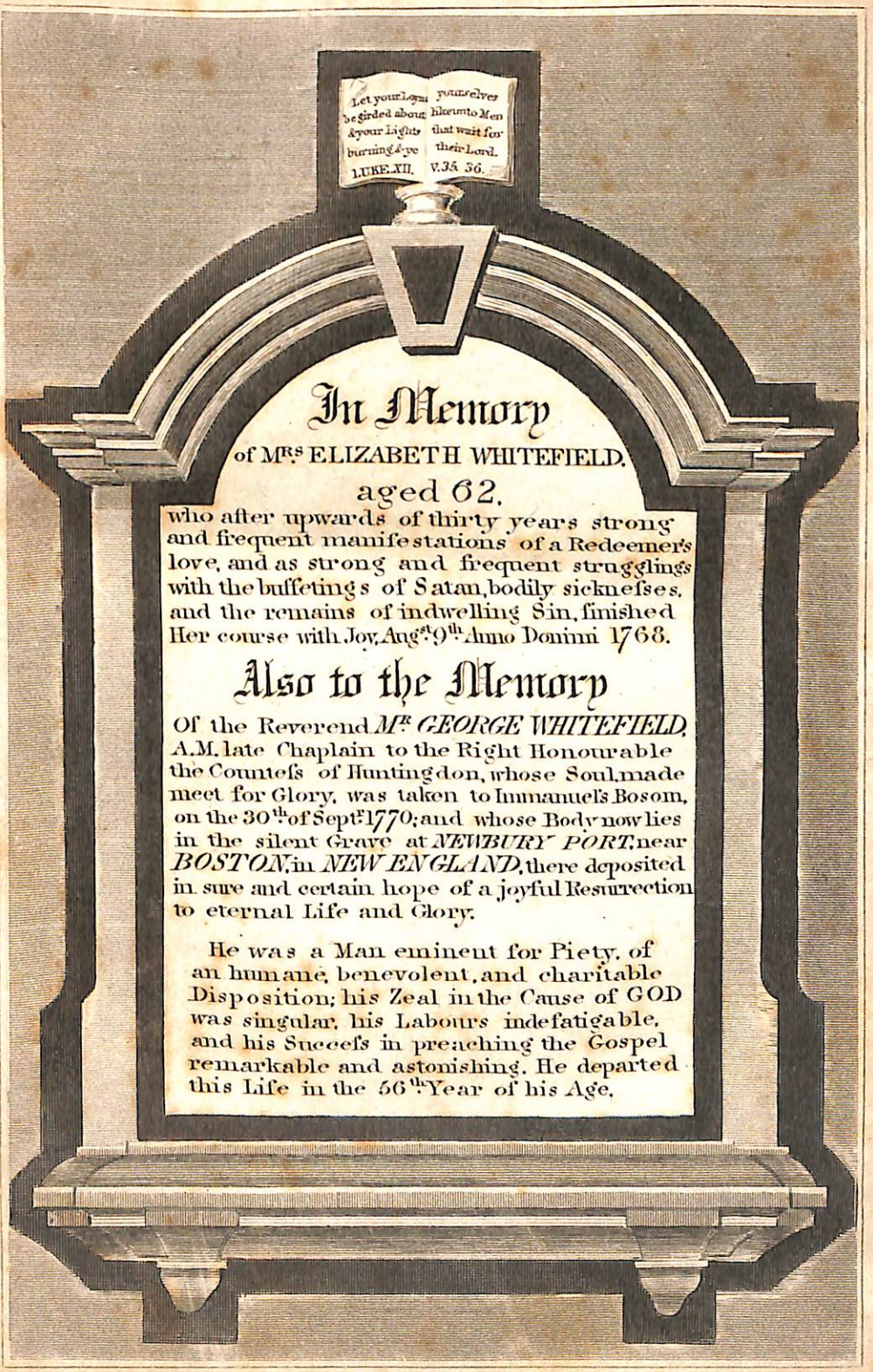
Extracts from his Journals before he left the Downs 227
Is happy to see matters exceeding his expectations at the Orphan-house, and the colony so greatly increased..... 231
The Governor, Council, and Assembly of Georgia, express their gratitude to him, as a benefactor to the colony 232
His health grows better, and he preaches almost every day... 233
Goes to the northern colonies to preach in the Summer season, and purposes to return to his Orphan-house in Winter.... 234
While preaching daily in New England, is taken very ill about the middle of September; but being recovered, continues in the same course, and hopes to see Georgia about Christmas 235
Dies at Newbury-port, Sabbath morning, Sept. 30, 1770 ... 237
Mr. Smith's account of his death and funeral ..... *ibid.*
Reception of the news at London 241

CHAP. XXI.

Description of his person..... 244
Striking parts of his life and character 245
Observations, by the Editor 255
Original Letters 265
Appendix.—Containing Extracts from Funeral Sermons—His character by the Rev. Augustus Montague Toplady—Mr. Cowper's lines on him.—Characteristic Traits.—Account of the Riot at Hampton, and subsequent Trial—Remarks on a Pamphlet entituled, "The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared"—His Will.

ERRATA.

Page 125 Note* for See *Appendix*, read *Vol. IV. of his Works.*
—— 229, line 27, for *purse*, read *pulse.*


Let your Loins be girded about & your Lights burning & ye
yourselves like unto Men that wait for their Lord.
LUKE. XII. V. 35. 36.
In Memory
of Mrs ELIZABETH WHITEFIELD.
aged 62.
who after upwards of thirty years strong and frequent manifestations of a Redeemer's love, and as strong and frequent strugglings with the buffetings of Satan, bodily sicknesses, and the remains of indwelling Sin, finished Her course with Joy, Augst 9th Anno Domini 1768.
Also to the Memory
Of the Reverend Mr GEORGE WHITEFIELD, A.M. late Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Countess of Huntingdon, whose Soul made meet for Glory, was taken to Immanuel's Bosom, on the 30th of Septr 1770; and whose Body now lies in the silent Grave at NEWBURY PORT, near BOSTON, in NEW ENGLAND, there deposited in sure and certain hope of a joyful Resurrection to eternal Life and Glory.
He was a Man eminent for Piety, of an humane, benevolent, and charitable Disposition; his Zeal in the Cause of GOD was singular, his Labours indefatigable, and his Success in preaching the Gospel remarkable and astonishing. He departed this Life in the 56th Year of his Age.

Page sculp.

ADVERTISEMENT.

AT a time when Scepticism is taking place of Bigotry, and Infidelity in its guises and its *disguises* is daily undermining the influence of Religion, in the hearts of the ignorant or the thoughtless;—when Philosophy, presuming to penetrate the Mysteries of Faith, too proud to confess the attempt abortive, boldly asserts there are none—that all is either ridiculous or incredible which human reason cannot demonstrate, or which human comprehension cannot conceive;—when the example of those whose learning might have taught them the narrow limits Humanity, in all her faculties, is confined to, and humbly to acknowledge, as objects of Faith, as well the Mysteries of Religion as of Nature; as well the TRIUNE DEITY as the incomprehensible union of the human soul and body, and the endless series of Natural Mysteries, obvious, indeed, to human sense, but beyond all human comprehension—when such example presents itself to the mul-

titude, who have not either leisure, ability, or inclination, to give such subjects their due consideration, and invites them to the adoption of a dangerous indifference to Truths of Divine assertion, and the belief of which is of Divine command;—when even the professors of *Christianity* affect the fear of attributing too much to *Christ*, surely, the example of a man, whose whole life was devoted to prove, and to inculcate in the hearts and minds of thousands, that *Christ* is *All-in-all*, cannot be too generally circulated.

His successors (many with distinguished zeal and ability) have maintained, and do still go on, maintaining his doctrine, and extending its influence; but, in *their* progress, they have not to contend with the impediments that obstructed *his;* and many of the present day, though comforted by his doctrine, are strangers to the amount of obligation they owe the worthy Founder.

He opened the way surmounting difficulties so various in their descriptions, so discouraging, so painful in their nature, so repugnant to the feelings of mere humanity, that we cannot contemplate his perseverance but with astonishment. At one time, deserted by his friends, his followers, destitute and alone; embarrassed, and not benefited, by his past labours; offer-

ing himself only to be reviled; refused by those who had before received him; scoffed and buffeted by the world, enduring the daily attacks of calumny, ridicule, and insult; suffering, (for as a man he must have felt) yet labouring, thinking, writing, and preaching, for the glory of God, and the good of Man—surely, these are proofs of zeal that ought never to be forgotten.

Whether we consider the simplicity and energy of his Oratory, or the adaptation of his sentiments to the comprehension and conviction of the most illiterate and uninformed classes of his hearers, we must be equally astonished at his extraordinary talents, so singularly adapted to the nature of his ministry. He had language for the learned, he had a language for the unlearned; but his zeal was the same for both—to bring them to a due knowledge of their duty to God and their fellow-creatures, to impress them with a due sense of their own unworthiness, and the necessity of a Saviour, was the business of his whole life. But he was, indeed, the poor man's friend—to rescue him from perdition, he sought him in the fields, in the highways, in the streets, in the mines, and in prisons; formed a language for his uninformed mind, and tried his apprehension by every mode of speech, while he

patiently endured the mistaken mockeries of those who saw not, or who affected not to see, his benevolent purpose in it. For the poor, his active mind was incessantly employed, not only in promoting their spiritual, but their temporal welfare also—to relieve their wants, was not only his doctrine, but his practice; to consider them as members of one universal family, was the principle he constantly recommended, and, by his example, enforced—for, in his kindness, he had no other respect of persons, than as they excelled more or less in the practice of real piety. Therefore, to remind those who are already informed, and to inform such as are without the knowledge of him; to put into the hands of all who are now comforted by his doctrine, the example of such a life, is surely a duty incumbent on those, who bear any respect to his *memory*, or look, at all, to the encouragement of the flock he has left to follow him.

It is now more than forty years since this most excellent man died, and left to his friends and followers the contemplation of a life almost unprecedented since the Apostolic age, in the important qualities of zeal and piety; a life in which we see Persecution opposed by Patience, and Zeal and Piety ultimately triumphant.

To enlarge on a life so illustrious in all that concerns our spiritual welfare—so virtuous, so effective in the accomplishment of it—so laborious, so painful, in the means of its accomplishment, would be not only incompatible with the limits we are necessarily confined to, but with our abilities to do it justice;—View him, therefore, in his last moments—the agony of nature excepted, with what placid composure might he prepare for his departure—with what inward satisfaction might he review the account of his stewardship—and with what consoling hope await the benediction of his Divine Master!

Immediately consequent on his death, the pens of many very able and eminent men were immediately employed in compiling memoirs of his extraordinary, useful, and exemplary life; and the avidity of his numerous followers to possess themselves of copies, for the information and benefit of themselves and their families, left few unsold, though many editions were, from time to time, produced.

The immense augmentation to the number of his followers which has since occurred, and the very natural idea that a new edition of his Life must be not only, consequently, *necessary*, but *desirable* to the many who, from the scarcity of copies, must be unavoidably unac-

quainted with it; at the solicitation of several respectable Persons, the Public is here respectfully presented with an improved edition of that compiled by the late Dr. GILLIES, in a way best adapted to general convenience. And that its influence may tend to confirm the Pious, and to bring to a course of true Piety, those who are still strangers to its comforts, is the sincere Prayer of

THE EDITOR.

London, August 10th, 1811.

MEMOIRS

OF THE LATE REVEREND

GEORGE WHITEFIELD, M.A.

&c. &c.

CHAP. I.

From his Birth to his going to the University of Oxford, Anno 1732.

THIS eminent and pious servant of Christ, Mr. George Whitefield, was born at Gloucester, on the 16th of December, O.S. 1714. His father, Thomas Whitefield, nephew of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Whitefield, of Rockampton, in Gloucestershire,* was first bred to the employment of a wine merchant in Bristol, but, afterwards, kept an inn in the city of Gloucester. In Bristol, he married Mrs. Elizabeth Edwards, who was related to the Blackwells and the

* The Rev. Mr. Samuel Whitefield, great-grandfather of George, was born at Wantage in Berkshire, and was rector of North Ledyard in Wiltshire. He removed afterwards to Rockhampton. He had five daughters, two of whom were married to clergymen, Mr. Perkins and Mr. Lovingham: And two sons, Samuel, who succeeded his father in the cure of Rockhampton, and died without issue; and Andrew, who was a private gentleman, and lived retired upon his estate. Andrew had fourteen children, of whom Thomas was the eldest, the father of Mr. George Whitefield.

Dimours of that city; by whom he had six sons and one daughter.* Of these, George was the youngest, who, being bereaved of his father, when only two years old, was regarded by his mother with a peculiar tenderness, and educated with more than ordinary care.

He was early under religious impressions; but the bent of his nature, and the general course of his younger years, as he himself acknowledged, with expressions of shame and self condemnation, were of a very different kind.†

Between the years of twelve and fifteen, he made a great progress in the Latin classics, at the public school: and his eloquence began to appear, even at that early period, in the speeches which he delivered at the annual visitations. It is probable, the applause he received on these occasions contributed to his fondness for theatrical amusements; from whence it has been insinuated, that he learned his oratory upon the stage. This, however, seems to have no other foundation, than his acting a part sometimes with his

* Elizabeth, the daughter, was twice reputably married at Bristol. John, his son, lies interred with the family in St. Mary Decrypt Church in Gloucester. Joseph died an infant. Andrew settled in trade at Bristol, and died in the twenty-eighth year of his age. James was captain of a ship, and died suddenly at Bath. Thomas and Richard. The father died December 1716. The mother continued a widow seven years, and was then married to Mr. Longden, an ironmonger in Gloucester, by whom she had no issue. She died December 1751, in the seventy-first year of her age.

† Confessions of a like nature, are to be found in the writings of St. Augustin.

Composes several Sermons at an early Age.

fellow scholars; particularly, in certain dramatic performances, prepared for them by their master: for, that he was more indebted as an orator, to nature, than to art of any kind, must be evident to all persons of discernment, who were acquainted with him. Such could not fail to observe, that his eloquence was, in a great measure, the effect of his genius, and proceeded chiefly from that peculiar assemblage of extraordinary talents with which God had endowed him. Notwithstanding this, it appears, from his conduct, that he either had not yet discovered where his talents lay, or could not find means to qualify himself for entering into any profession where they might be properly exercised; for, when he was about fifteen years of age, he declined the pursuit of learning, and talked of getting an education that would better fit him for business. During this period, he still continued to reside with his mother; and, as her circumtances were not then so easy as before, he did not scruple to assist her in the business of the tavern. But the prevailing bent of his genius began now strongly to discover itself; for, even in this unfavourable situation, he composed several sermons, one of which he dedicated to his eldest brother: and, after having visited him at Bristol, he came home, with a resolution to abandon his present employment, and to turn his thoughts a different way.

After this, being for some time disengaged from every pursuit, and but poorly supported out of his mother's scanty subsistence, he was in no small danger of being utterly ruined by the influence of his former

companions; but it pleased God to break the snare, by filling him with an abhorrence of their evil deeds.

About this time, the impressions of religion began again to recover their influence in his breast; and, when he was seventeen years of age, he received the sacrament of the Lord's supper. He now became more and more watchful, both over his heart and conversation. He was frequently employed in fasting and prayer; spent much of his time in reading books of devotion; attended public worship twice every day; and so deeply was he engaged in these exercises, that his thoughts were constantly set on the great things of religion.

CHAP. II.

From the Time of his going to the University of Oxford, to his embarking for Georgia, Anno 1737.

When Mr. Whitefield arrived at the age of eighteen, he was sent to the University of Oxford, where he was again exposed to the society of the wicked; but, remembering his former danger and deliverance, by the grace of God, he resisted all their solicitations, and cultivated an acquaintance with the Methodists, as the only persons that seemed to preserve a sense of religion, through the whole of their deportment.

It would be going beyond our purpose to give an account of the rise of Methodism; for this the reader is referred to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's first journal. But it may not be improper to notice the spirit of the age, when it first appeared. At that time, serious and practical christianity in England was in a very low condition; scriptural, experimental religion (which in the seventeenth century used to be the subject of the sermons and writings of the clergy) was become quite unfashionable; and the only thing insisted on was, a defence of the outworks of christianity against the objections of infidels. What was the consequence? The writings of infidels multiplied every day, and infidelity made a rapid progress among persons of every rank; not because they were reasoned into it by the force of argument, but because they

were kept strangers to Christ, and the power of the Gospel. We have a most affecting description of this, by Bishop Butler (in the Preface to his Analogy, May, 1736), whom none will suspect of exaggerating the fact:—"It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry; but that it is, now at length, discovered to be fictitious; and, accordingly, they treat it, as if in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment; and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule; as it were by way of reprisals, for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world." Such was the state of religion in England; and Scotland was greedily swallowing down the poison, when it pleased God to raise up the Methodists, as instruments to revive his work in the midst of abounding impiety, and to bring multitudes, who had scarcely a form of godliness, to experience its quickening and renewing power.

Happy was it for Mr. Whitefield, that there was a society of Methodists, at that time, in Oxford; but especially that he became acquainted with the Rev. Mr. Charles Wesley, by whom he was treated with particular kindness. Such benefit did he receive under his ministry, that he always accounted him his spiritual father: and Mr. Wesley's reciprocal affection for him, stands recorded in the verses at the beginning of Mr. Whitefield's second and third journals.

Falls into erroneous notions of Religious duties.

Like the other Methodists, Mr. Whitefield now began to live by rule, and to improve every moment of his time to the best advantage. He received the communion every sabbath, visited the sick, and the jail prisoners, and read to the poor. For daring to be thus singularly religious, he soon incurred the displeasure of his fellow students, and felt the effects of it in their unkind behaviour. In the mean time, he was greatly distressed with melancholy thoughts, which were augmented by excessive bodily austerities: and, at last, by reading, and perhaps misunderstanding some mystic writers, he was driven to imagine, that the best method he could take was, to shut himself up in his study, till he had perfectly mortified his own will, and was enabled to do good, without any mixture of corrupt motives. He likewise imagined, that he must relinquish external duties, and public worship; and lastly (which was no small trial and affliction to him), that he must deny himself the pleasure of conversing with his religious friends. In this pitiable state of mind, Mr. Charles Wesley found him one day, when he went to see him; apprized him of his danger, if he persisted in that way of life, and recommended to him his brother as a person of greater experience; who readily gave him, from time to time, his friendly advice. Soon after this, however, he carried his abstinence and fasting to such an extreme, that his body was so emaciated and feeble, that he could hardly walk up stairs. His tutor, therefore,

thought proper to call a physician; and it appeared, by the event, he had rightly judged in doing so: for it pleased God to make the physician's care and medicines successful to his recovery.

His bodily health being restored, his soul was likewise filled with peace and joy in believing on the Son of God. This joy was so great for some time, that go where he would, he could not help praising God continually in his heart, and with some difficulty restrained himself from doing it aloud. As he was urged to go into the country for confirming his health, he returned to his native air at Gloucester, where (his mind being now happily enlightened) he preferred the sacred writings to all other books, and read them with constant prayer; in which exercise, he found unspeakable delight and benefit. But inclination conspired with duty, to hinder him from confining his religion to himself. Having a heart formed for society and friendship, he could not think of shutting himself up in his closet; but made it his business to converse with young persons, about his own time of life, in order to awaken them to a sense of religion. God was pleased soon to give success to his endeavours this way, for several of them joined with him; and, notwithstanding the contempt they knew it would bring upon them, met together, from time to time, for religious exercises. He also there read to some poor people in the town, twice or thrice a week, and read and prayed with the prisoners in the county gaol every day.

Ordained by the Bishop of Gloucester.

Being now about twenty-one years of age, he was sent for by Dr. Benson, bishop of Gloucester, who told him, that though he had purposed to ordain none under three and twenty, yet, he should reckon it his duty to ordain him whenever he applied: upon which, at the earnest persuasion of his friends, he prepared for taking orders.

His behaviour, on this occasion, was very exemplary. He first studied the thirty-nine articles, that he might be satisfied of their being agreeable to scripture. Then, he examined himself by the qualifications of a minister mentioned in the New Testament, and by the questions that he knew were to be put to him at his ordination. On the Saturday, he was much in prayer for himself and those who were to be ordained with him. On the morning of his ordination (which was at Gloucester, Sunday, June 20, 1736) he rose early, and again read, with prayer, *St. Paul's* Epistles to *Timothy;* and, after his ordination, went to the Lord's Table.

The Sunday following, he preached his sermon on *The Necessity and Benefit of* Religious Society, to a very crowded auditory; and that same week he set out for Oxford, whither he inclined to go, rather than to the parish which the bishop would have given him; because it was the place where he might best prosecute his studies, and where he hoped his labours might be most useful.* Soon after this, he was invited to

* "Last Sunday, in the afternoon, I preached my first sermon in the church of St. Mary De Crypt, where I was baptised, and also

Preaches in London, for the first time, at Bishopsgate church.

officiate at the chapel of the Tower of London. The first time he preached in London was, August, 1736, at Bishopsgate church. Having a very young look, the people were surprised at his appearance, and seemed to sneer as he went up to the pulpit; but they had not heard him long, when their contempt was turned into esteem, and their smiles into great attention. He continued at the Tower two months, preaching, catechising, and visiting the soldiers; and several serious young men came to hear his morning discourses on the Lord's day. In the mean time, the letters which the Rev. Messrs. Wesleys and Ingham wrote home from Georgia, made him long to go, and preach the gospel in those parts; yet he waited till Providence should make his way more clear, and returning to Oxford, he found himself very happy

first received the sacrament of the Lord's supper. Curiosity, as you may easily guess, drew a large congregation together upon the occasion. The sight, at first, a little awed me; but I was comforted with a heartfelt sense of the Divine Presence, and soon found the advantage of having been accustomed to public speaking, when a boy at school; and of exhorting and teaching the prisoners, and poor people at their private houses, whilst at the University. By these means, I was kept from being daunted over-much. As I proceeded, I perceived the fire kindled, till at last, though so young, and amidst a crowd of those who knew me in my infant childish days, I trust, I was enabled to speak with some degree of Gospel-authority. Some few mocked, but most, for the present, seemed struck: and I have since heard; that a complaint had been made to the bishop, that I drove fifteen mad the first sermon. The worthy prelate, as I am informed, wished that the madness might not be forgotten before next Sunday." Letter XVI.

in his former employments, and had much pleasure in reading *Henry's Commentary on the Bible*, and in the company of some religious young men, who met together in his chamber every day.

In November, 1736, he was again called from Oxford, to minister at Dummer, in Hampshire. This was a new sphere of action among poor illiterate people; but he was soon reconciled to it, and thought he reaped no small profit by conversing with them. Nevertheless he continued his studies with unwearied application—dividing the day into three parts—eight hours for sleep and meals; eight for public prayers, catechising, and visiting; and eight for study and retirement. During his stay here, he was invited to a very profitable curacy in London, but did not accept it, as he was still intent upon going abroad. Providence, at length, seemed to open a door to him; for he received letters, containing what he thought to be an invitation, to go to Georgia, from Mr. John Wesley, whose brother came over about this time, to procure more labourers. It is easy to judge, how readily this proposal would be embraced: and now that he thought himself clearly called (many things concurring to make his stay at home less necessary), he set his affairs in order, and, in January, 1737, went to take leave of his friends in Gloucester and Bristol. At Gloucester, the congregations, when he preached, were very large, and very serious. At Bristol, many persons were forced to return from the churches, where he was invited to preach, for want of room. He went also to Bath, where he was kindly received, and

preached twice. But he did not stay long at any of these places, being obliged to go to Oxford about the latter end of February; from whence he came up to London, to wait upon General Oglethorp and the trustees for Georgia. He was soon introduced to the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, who both approved of his going abroad. While he continued at London, waiting for General Oglethorp, he preached more frequently than he had done before and greater numbers of people flocked to hear him. But, finding that the General was not likely to sail for some time, and being under particular obligations to the Rev. Mr. Sampson Harris, minister at Stonehouse, in Gloucestershire, he went, at his request, to supply his charge, till he should dispatch some affairs in London. There he was very happy in his public ministrations, but especially in his retirements, which he used afterwards to reflect upon with great satisfaction.* On Mr. Harris's return, he left Stonehouse, and, upon repeated invitations, went a second time to Bristol, where he preached, as usual, about five times a week. Here the multitudes of his hearers still increased.† He was attended by persons of all ranks and denominations; private religious societies were erected; a collection, for the poor prisoners in Newgate, was made twice or thrice a-week; and large

* See Letter XXI.

† "Some hung upon the rails, others climbed up the leads of the church, and altogether made the church itself so hot, with their breath, that the steam would fall from the pillars like drops of rain." *Ibid.*

encouragement was offered to him, if he would not go abroad. During his stay at Bristol, which was from the end of May to the 21st of June, he paid a second short visit to Bath, where the people crowded, and were seriously affected, as at Bristol, and no less than 160l. was collected for the poor of Georgia.

June 21, he preached his farewell sermon at Bristol; and, towards the end of the discourse, when he came to tell them, "it might be they would see him no more," the whole congregation was exceedingly affected; high and low, young and old, burst into a flood of tears. Multitudes, after sermon, followed him home weeping; and the next day he was employed from seven in the morning till midnight, in talking and giving advices to those who came to him, about the concerns of their souls and salvation.

From Bristol he went to Gloucester, and preached to a very crowded auditory; and, after staying a few days, went on to Oxford, where he had an agreeable interview with the other Methodists, and came to London about the end of August.

Here he was invited to preach and assist in administering the sacrament in a great many churches. The congregations continually increased; and generally on the Lord's day, he used to preach four times to very large and very much affected auditories, and to walk ten or twelve miles in going to the different churches. His friends began to be afraid he would hurt himself: but he used to say, "he found, by experience, the more he did, the more he might do for God."

Immense congregations to hear his Charity sermons.

His name was now put into the newspapers (though without his consent or knowledge), as a young gentleman going volunteer to Georgia, who was to preach before the societies at their general quarterly meeting. This stirred up the people's curiosity more and more. He preached, on that occasion, his sermon on *Early Piety*, which was printed at the request of the societies. After this, for near three months successively, there was no end of people's flocking to hear him, and the managers of the charity schools were continually applying to him to preach* for the benefit of the children; for that purpose they procured the liberty of the churches on other days of the week besides the Lord's day; and yet thousands went away from the largest churches, not being able to get in. The congregations were all attention, and seemed to hear as for eternity. He preached generally nine times a week, and often administered the sacrament early on the Lord's day morning, when you might see the streets filled with people going to church with lanterns in their hand, and hear them conversing about the things of God.

As his popularity increased, opposition increased proportionably. Some of the clergy became angry; two of them sent for him, and told him, they would not let him preach in their pulpits any more, unless he renounced that part of the preface of his sermon *on Regeneration* (lately published), wherein he wished "that his brethren would entertain their auditories

* See Letter XXVIII.

oftener with discourses upon the new-birth." Probably some of them were irritated the more, by his free conversation with many of the serious Dissenters, who invited him to their houses, and repeatedly told him, "That if the doctrines of the new-birth, and justification by faith, were preached powerfully in the churches, there would be few Dissenters in England." Nor was he without opposition even from some of his friends. But under these discouragements, he had great comfort in meeting every evening with a band of religious intimates, to spend an hour in prayer, for the advancement of the gospel, and for all their acquaintance, so far as they knew their circumstances. In this he had uncommon satisfaction: once he spent a whole night with them in prayer and praise; and sometimes at midnight, after he had been quite wearied with the labours of the day, he found his strength renewed in this exercise, which made him compose his sermon *upon Intercession.*

The nearer the time of his embarkation approached, the more affectionate and eager the people grew. Thousands and thousands of prayers were put up for him. They would run and stop him in the alleys of the churches, and follow him with wishful looks. But, above all, it was hardest for him to part with his weeping friends at St. Dunstan's, where he helped to administer the sacrament to them, after spending the night before in prayer: this parting was to him almost insupportable,

CHAP. III.

From the Time of his embarking for Georgia, to his re-embarking for England, 1738.

In the latter end of December, 1737, he embarked for Georgia.* This was to him a new, and, at first appearance, a very unpromising scene. The ship was full of soldiers, and there were near twenty women among them. The captains, both of the soldiers and sailors, with the surgeon, and a young cadet, gave him soon to understand, that they looked upon him as an impostor, and, for awhile, treated him as such. The first Lord's day, one of them played on the hautboy; and nothing was to be seen but cards, and little heard, but cursing and blasphemy. This was a very disagreeable situation; but it is worth while to observe, with what prudence he was helped to behave among them, and how God was pleased to bless his patient and persevering endeavours to do them good.

He began with the officers in the cabin, in the way of mild and gentle reproof; but this had little effect.†

* Here begins a manuscript of Mr. Whitefield's from which several passages are taken in the following account. It is referred to by MS.

† "I could do no more for a season, than whilst I was writing, now and then turn my head, by way of reproof, to a lieutenant of the soldiers, who swore as though he was born of a swearing constitution. Now and then, he would take the hint, return my nod with a 'Doctor, I ask your pardon,' and then to his cards, and swearing again." MS.

He therefore tried what might be done between decks, among the soldiers: and, though the place was not very commodious, he read prayers and expounded twice a-day. At first, he could not see any fruit of his labour; yet, it was encouraging to find it so kindly received by his new red coat parishioners, (as he calls them) many of whom submitted cheerfully to be catechised about the lessons they had heard expounded.

In this situation, things continued for some time. But all this while, he had no place for retirement, and there was no divine service in the great cabin, both which he greatly desired. At last he obtained his wish. One day, finding the captain of the ship a little inclined to favour him, he asked him to suffer him now and then to retire into the round-house, where the captain slept, and offered him money for the loan of it. The captain would not take the money, but readily granted his request. Soon afterwards, the military captain having invited him to a dish of coffee, he took the liberty to tell him, "That though he was a volunteer on board, yet, as he was on board, he looked upon himself as his chaplain, and, as such, he thought it a little odd, to pray and preach to the servants, and not to the master;" and added withal, "that if he thought proper, he would make use of a short collect now and then, to him, and the other gentlemen in the great cabin." After pausing awhile, and shaking his head, he answered, "I think we may, when we have nothing else to do." This aukward hint was all he got for the present; yet he was

encouraged thereby to hope, that the desired point would soon be gained.

They were detained in the Downs, by contrary winds, for near a month: the soldiers on board became by this time more and more civilized, and the people at Deal heard him gladly. There he preached thrice, at the invitation of the ministers, and often expounded in the house where he lodged. This work was very delightful to him; but he was suddenly called away by a fair wind, about the end of January, 1738, just after he had preached in Upper Deal church.

Being returned to the ship, he began to comfort himself with some promising appearances of doing good in the great cabin. As he had no better place, he, generally, every night, retired with his friend, Mr. Habersham, and his brother, and two servants, behind the round-house, for prayer, and other religious exercises. Sometimes, he perceived Captain Whiting was hearkening within. One day, finding on the captain's pillow the "*Independent Whig*," he exchanged it for a book entitled "*The Self Deceiver.*" Next morning, the captain came smiling, and inquired who made that exchange; Mr. Whitefield confessed the charge, and begged his acceptance of the book, which he said he had read, and liked very well. From thence forward, a visible alteration was seen in him. The other captain also, about the same time, met him as he was coming from between decks, and desired, "that they might have public service, and expounding, twice a-day in the great cabin."

In about a fortnight, they reached Gibraltar, whi-

ther they were bound to take in some more soldiers. There, one Major Sinclair had been so kind as to provide a lodging for him, unasked, who, with the other military gentleman, even Governor Sabine, and General Columbine, received him most courteously. Being apprehensive, that, at a public military table, he might be more than hospitably entertained, by way of prevention, he begged leave to remind his Excellency of an observation made in the book of Esther, on the court of the great Ahasuerus, "that none did compel:" he took the hint, and genteelly replied, "that no compulsion, of any kind, should be used at his table." And every thing was carried on with great decorum. The officers attended at public worship with order and gravity; the ministers also behaved with great civility; and all concurred to give him invitations to preach, which he did twice or thrice in the week;* and in the evenings and mornings, when not on board, he expounded, conversed, and prayed, with a religious society of soldiers, who had liberty from the Governor to assemble at any time in the church. His evening expositions were attended, not only by the soldiers, but by officers, ministers, and towns-people; and from all that could be judged, his labours were not without the divine blessing.

* "Strange and unusual was the scene, both with respect to the place and people. The adjacent promontories, and the largeness of the rock of Gibraltar, helped me to enlarge my ideas of Him, who, *in his strength, setteth fast the mountains, and is girded about with power*. And the place being, as it were, a public rendezvous of all nations, I thought I saw the world in epitome. MS.

Finding another society of religious soldiers there, belonging to the church of Scotland, he sent them, as well as the former, some proper books, talked with several of them, and endeavoured to unite both societies together; urging on them the necessity of a catholic, disinterested love, and of joining in prayer for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ. This exhortation, also, by the blessing of God, had a good effect; and two or three of the latter society being draughted out for Georgia, desired leave to go in the ship with Mr. Whitefield, which was readily allowed them.

Before the embarkation of the soldiers, by the General's consent, he gave them a parting discourse in the church. And, after embarkation, from time to time, as the weather permitted, he preached to them on board their respective ships.* Colonel Cochran, who commanded, was extremely civil: and, soon after their setting sail, there was such a change upon Captain Mackay, that he desired Mr. Whitefield would not give himself the trouble of expounding and praying in the cabin, and between decks; for he would order a drum to be beat morning and evening, and himself would attend with the soldiers on the deck. This produced a very agreeable alteration; they were now as regular as in a church. Mr. Whitefield

* He not only preached to them, but gave them notice, that he intended speaking to them, one by one, to see what account they could give of their faith. MS.

At this time he began his "Observations on select Passages of Scripture, turned into Catechetical Questions."*

preached with a captain on each side of him, and soldiers all around; and the two other ships' companies, being now in the trade winds, drew near, and joined in the worship of God. The great cabin was now become a Bethel; both captains were daily more and more affected; and a crucified Saviour, and the things pertaining to the kingdom of God, were the usual topics of their conversation. Once, after public sermon, Captain Mackay desired the soldiers to stop, whilst he informed them, that, to his great shame, he had been a notorious swearer himself; but, by the instrumentality of that gentleman, pointing to Mr. Whitefield, he had now left it off, and exhorted them, for Christ's sake, that they would go and do likewise. The children were catechised; there was a reformation throughout the whole soldiery. The women cried, "What a change in our captain!" The bad books and packs of cards, which Mr. Whitefield exchanged for Bibles, and other religious books, (abundance of which were given him to disperse by the "Society for promoting Christian Knowledge") were now thrown overboard; and a fever, that prevailed in general through the whole ship, helped to make the impressions sink deeper. For many days and nights, he visited betwixt twenty and thirty sick persons, crawling between decks, upon his knees, administering medicines or cordials to them, and such advice as seemed suitable to their circumstances. The sailors did not escape the fever; Captain Whiting gladly went with him to visit them. One of them, in particular, who had been a most notorious scoffer,

sent for him in a bitter agony, crying out upon, and lamenting, his wicked life. The cadet, who was a cabin passenger, being also seized, was wounded deeply, told Mr. Whitefield the history of his life, and informed Captain Mackay of his desire to leave the army, and to return to his original intention (having had an university education) of devoting himself to the service of the church of God. Mr. Whitefield himself was also seized; but, by the blessing of God, he soon recovered, and was strong enough, in about a week, to come out to the burial of the cook of the ship, who had boasted, "that he would be wicked till two years before he died, and then he would be good." But he was suddenly taken ill, and died in about six hours.*

It was the beginning of May, when they drew near to land. After preaching his farewell sermon, he arrived at the parsonage-house at Savannah, May 7, 1738, about four months after his first embarkation at Deptford.

Upon this voyage (many years after) he made the following reflection: "A long, and, I trust, not altogether unprofitable voyage. What shall I render to the Lord for all his mercies? Besides being strengthened to go through my public work, I was enabled to write letters, and compose sermons, as though I had been on land. Even at this distance of time, the remembrance of the happy hours I enjoyed in religious

* "This was the only adult, except a soldier (who had killed himself at Gibraltar by perpetual drinking) that died out of all that were on board." MS.

exercises on the deck, is refreshing to my soul. And though nature sometimes relented at being taken from my friends, and the little unusual inconveniencies of a sea-life; yet, a consciousness that I had in view the glory of GOD, and the good of souls, from time to time afforded me unspeakable satisfaction*."

One Mr. Delamot, who had gone volunteer with Mr. John Wesley, and was left behind by him as school-master at Savannah, received Mr. Whitefield at the parsonage-house, which he found much better than expectation. Here some serious persons, the fruits of Mr. Wesley's ministry, soon came to see him. On the morrow he read prayers, and expounded in the court-house, and waited upon the magistrates; but being taken ill, he was confined for above a week with a fever and ague.

When he was recovered, and able to look about him, he found every thing bore the aspect of an infant colony; and what was more discouraging still, he saw it was likely to continue so, by the very nature of its constitution. "The people (says he) were denied the use both of rum and slaves. The lands were allotted them, according to a particular plan, whether good or bad; and the female heirs prohibited from inheriting. So that, in reality, to place people there, on such a footing, was little better than to tie their legs and bid them walk. The scheme was well meant at home; but, as too many years experience evidently proved, was absolutely impracticable in so hot a country abroad. However,

* MS.

that rendered what I had brought over from my friends, more acceptable to the poor inhabitants, and gave me an ocular demonstration, which was what I wanted, when the hint was given,* of the great necessity and promising utility of a future Orphan-house, which I now determined, by the divine assistance, to set about in earnest. The Saltzburghers at Ebenezer, I found had one; and having heard of what Professor Franck had done in that way in Germany, I confidently hoped that something of the like nature might be owned, and succeeded in Georgia. Many poor orphans were there already, and the number was likely soon to increase.

"As opportunity offered, I visited Frederica and the adjacent villages, and often admired, considering the circumstances and disposition of the first settlers, that so much was really done. The settlers were, chiefly broken and decayed tradesmen from London and other parts of England; and several Scotch adventurers; some Highlanders, who had a worthy minister, named Macleod; a few Moravians; and the Saltzburghers, who were, by far, the most industrious of the whole. With the worthy ministers of Ebenezer, Messrs. Grenaw and Boltzius, I contracted an intimacy. Many praying people were in the congregation, which, with the consideration that so many charitable people in England had been stirred

* "It was first proposed to me by my dear friend Mr. Charles Wesley, who, with General Oglethorpe, had concerted a scheme for carrying on such a design, before I had any thoughts of going abroad myself."—See his Works.

up to contribute to Georgia, and such faithful labourers as Messrs. Wesleys and Ingham had been sent, gave me great hopes, that, unpromising as the aspect at present might be, the colony might emerge in time out of its infant state. Some small advances Mr. Ingham had made towards converting the Indians, who were at a small settlement about four miles from Savannah.—He went and lived among them for a few months, and began to compose an Indian grammar; but he was soon called away to England; and the Indians (who were only some run-away Creeks) were, in a few years, scattered or dead.—Mr. Charles Wesley had chiefly acted as secretary to General Oglethorpe, but he soon also went to England to engage more labourers; and, not long after, his brother, Mr. John Wesley, having met with unworthy treatment, both at Frederica and Georgia, soon followed. All this I was apprized of, but think it most prudent not to repeat grievances. Through divine mercy, I met with respectful treatment from magistrates, officers, and people. The first I visited now and then, the others, besides preaching twice a day, and four times of a Lord's-day, I visited from house to house: I was, in general, most cordially received; but from time to time found, that '*Cœlum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt:*' Though lowered in their circumstances, a sense of what they formerly were in their native country, remained. It was plain to be seen, that coming over was not so much out of choice, as constraint: choosing, rather to be poor in an unknown country abroad, than beholden to rela-

tions, or live among those who knew them in more affluent circumstances at home. Among some of these, the event, however, proved, that the word took effectual root. I was really happy in my little foreign cure, and could have cheerfully remained among them, had I not been obliged to return to England, to receive priest's orders, and make a beginning towards laying a foundation to the Orphan-house.—And thus the place I intended to hide myself in, became, through my being obliged to return for these purposes, a means of increasing that popularity which was already begun, but which by me was absolutely unforeseen, and as absolutely undesigned."

In another part he says, "During my stay there, the weather was most intensely hot, sometimes burning me almost through my shoes. Seeing others do it, who were as unable, I determined to enure myself to hardiness, by lying constantly on the ground; which, by use, I found to be so far from being a hardship, that afterwards it became so, to lie on a bed."

About the middle of August, having settled one that came with him as schoolmaster in a neighbouring village, and left his friend Mr. Habersham at Savannah, after an affectionate parting with his flock, he set out for Charlestown, in South-Carolina.

Here he paid his first visit to Commissary Garden, and at his entreaty preached the next Sunday-morning and evening, in a grand church resembling one of the new churches in London. The inhabitants seemed at his first coming up to despise his youth;

Receives a promise of support from Mr. Garden.

but their countenances were altered before worship was over. Mr. Garden thanked him most cordially, and apprized him of the ill treatment Mr. Wesley had met with in Georgia, and assured him, that, were the same arbitrary proceedings to commence against him, he would defend him with his life and fortune. He also said something about the colony of Georgia that much encouraged him, as if he thought its flourishing was not very far off; and that Charlestown was fifteen times bigger now, than when he (Mr. Garden) first came there.

CHAP. IV.

From his embarking at Charlestown, for London, to his preaching first in Moorfields, 1739.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1738, Mr. Whitefield embarked in a ship bound from Charlestown to London. They had a very uncomfortable passage. For near a fortnight, they were beat about not far from the bar; they were soon reduced to an allowance of water: and the ship itself was quite out of repair. They were also very poorly off for provisions. When they were about a third part of their passage, they met with a Jamaica man, who had plenty of every thing. He sent for Mr. Whitefield on board, and offered him a most commodious berth; but he did not think it right to leave his shipmates in distress, and therefore returned to his own ship, with such things as they were pleased to give him. The remaining part of the voyage was still more perilous. The only thing comfortable, was, that in the midst of these trials, deep impressions were made on some that were on board. All, constantly, attended public worship twice, and some thrice a day. Once the Captain cried out, "Lord, break this hard heart of mine." Others were impressed: particularly one Captain Gladman, a passenger, on whom a great change was wrought, and, afterwards, at his own earnest request, he became Mr. Whitefield's fellow traveller. At length, after

nine weeks tossing and beating to and fro, they found themselves in Limerick harbour.*

At Limerick, Bishop Burscough received him very kindly, and engaged him to preach in the cathedral, the good effects of which he heard of many years after. From thence he went to Dublin, where he preached, and was courteously received by Dr. Delany, Bishop Rundel, and Archbishop Bolton, who had heard of him from a gentleman of Gibraltar. And, after a passage of twenty-four hours from Dublin, he arrived at Park gate, Thursday, November 30, preached twice on the Lord's day, at Manchester, and came to London the Friday following, December 8.

Here, he had a conference with the Moravian brethren, who were lately come to London; and though he could not directly fall in with their way of expressing themselves, yet he heartily agreed with them in the old Protestant doctrine of justification in the sight of God, by Faith alone in the imputed righteousness of Christ; and was not a little delighted to find a great increase of the work of God, both as to light and love, doctrine and practice, through the instrumentality of Mr. Charles, and especially of Mr. John Wesley.

Some of the clergy now began to show their dis-

* "I wish I could never forget what I felt, when water, and other provisions, were brought us from ashore.—One Mr. Mac Mahon, a country gentleman, came from his seat at midnight, on purpose to relieve us, and most kindly invited me, though unknown, to his house, to stay as long as I pleased."—MS. and Journals.

pleasure more and more; so that, in two days time, five churches were denied him. And, though the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, both received him civilly, it was but coldly: and the latter inquired, "Whether his journals were not a little tinctured with enthusiasm?" He replied, that they were written only for himself, and private friends, and were published entirely without his consent or knowledge, or so much as his consent being asked at all.* The trustees for the colony of Georgia,

* It was certainly wrong to publish them, without his consent and revisal; otherwise the publication of them was a very proper way to prevent the misrepresentation of facts either by calumny and detraction on the one hand, or by exaggeration on the other. And it is a great pity he did not continue them. They would have been the best possible memoirs of his life. But we see how the offence given by, or taken at, some passages, might help to determine him "to proceed," as he afterwards says, "in a more compendious way." The Journals were, indeed, mostly written amidst his incessant labours in preaching, travelling, and writing a multitude of letters. And the whole was told with that unguarded simplicity, which, though it charms the candid and disposes them to forgive or overlook many things, yet gives frequent handle to the critical and severe. It must also be owned, that his unsuspecting honesty made him sometimes receive, with too little caution, the characters of persons and societies, from those whom he took to be friends of religion, and who, perhaps, were really so, but were misinformed. Being, therefore, convinced, upon second thoughts, that both his Journals, and the two first parts of his Life, needed correction, he promised a new edition of them, which he, accordingly, published in 1756: And in the preface he ingenuously acknowledges, that, upon a review, he had found "many mistakes (which are now rectified), and many passages that were justly exceptionable," (which are now erased.) And in a note, upon September 21, 1740, he says, "In my former Journal, taking things by hearsay too much, I spoke and wrote too rashly, both of the Colleges and Ministers of New England; for which, as I have already done

His conduct approved by the Trustees for the Colony.

received him more cordially, were pleased to express their satisfaction at the accounts sent them of his conduct, during his stay in the colony; and being requested, by letters sent unknown to him, from the magistrates and inhabitants, they most willingly presented him to the living of Savannah (though he insisted upon having no salary), and as readily granted him five hundred acres of land, whereon to erect an Orphan-house; to collect money for which, together with taking priest's orders, were the chief motives of his returning to England so soon.

Near a month elapsed, before a board sat, to make him these returns. But, during that interval, he was not idle. He and his brethren went on in their usual course, taking hold of every opportunity of doing good, and preaching occasionally as churches were allowed them.* And though the churchwardens and clergy were averse, yet the common-people were rather more eager than ever. But what surprised him most was, to see many of the heads and members of the London societies (who, by the accounts given by Dr. Woodward and Horneck,† he thought were

when at Boston last, from the pulpit, I take this opportunity of asking public pardon from the press. It was rash and uncharitable, and, though well-meant, I fear, did hurt." But these corrections, while they shew the author's candour and humility, do not affect the history of his extraordinary labours and success in the work of the Gospel.

* "God gave us a most pleasant Gospel Christmas season, and such a happy beginning of a New Year, as I had never seen before." MS.

† See Dr. Woodward's Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London, &c.

founded on a good bottom), make such virulent opposition. However, numbers of them were of another mind, and other societies were soon formed in various parts of the town. A large room in Fetter-lane was the general place of rendezvous, where they had frequent meetings, and great satisfaction in social prayer.* At the same time, in the churches that were open, the people crowded, and were affected more than ever. And he and his brethren were so much engaged, that for some days he could walk, and preach, and visit societies with very little sleep, and religious exercises seemed to be their meat and drink.

January 11, 1739, he set out for Oxford, to receive priest's orders from his good friend Bishop Benson, which he did the next Lord's-day; and, having preached and administered the sacrament at the castle, and preached again in the afternoon, to a crowded congregation, he returned to London, January 15.

As he had collected so much for the charity-schools last year, he reasonably supposed that the pulpits would not be denied him for the use of the Georgia Orphan-house this year. But the religious concern advancing, and spreading more and more, opposition also increased. A pamphlet was published against his sermon, *On Regeneration.* Several clergymen

* "It was a Pentecost season indeed. Sometimes whole nights were spent in prayer. Often have we been filled as with new wine. And often have I seen them overwhelmed with the Divine Presence, and crying out, 'Will God, indeed, dwell with men upon earth!—How dreadful is this place! This is no other than the house of God, and the gate of Heaven!'"—MS.

made strong objections against him and his brethren, for expounding in societies; and some people were threatened with prosecution by their parish ministers, for suffering them to expound in their houses. Yet this did not discourage either preachers or hearers. The more they were opposed, the more they were strengthened. New awakenings were heard of in various parts; and, "What shall I do to be saved?" was the repeated question of every day.

All the pulpits were not as yet shut up: two or three churches were allowed him to preach in, and to collect for the Georgia Orphans, and for erecting a church for the poor Saltzburghers at Ebenezer. One Mr. Broughton behaved nobly on this occasion. Application being made to him, to deny Mr. Whitefield his pulpit, he answered, "Having got the lectureship of St. Helen's by Mr. Whitefield's influence, if he insists upon it, he shall have my pulpit." Mr. Whitefield did insist upon it, but (Mr. Broughton losing the lectureship) he afterwards blamed himself much for his conduct.

In Bristol he had the use of the churches for two or three Sundays, but soon found they would not be open very long. The dean was not at home: the chancellor threatened to silence and suspend him. In about a fortnight every door was shut, except Newgate, where he preached and collected for the poor prisoners, and where people thronged, and were much impressed; but this place, also, was soon shut against him, by orders from the Mayor.

Before his first embarkation for Georgia, when he

talked of going abroad, numbers in Bristol used to reply, "What need of going abroad? Have we not Indians enough at home? If you have a mind to convert Indians, there are colliers enough in Kingswood." And before he left London, whilst preaching at Bermondsey church, and seeing so many thousands that could not come in, he had a strong inclination to go out and preach to them (though he then used notes) upon one of the tomb-stones in the church-yard. And this he mentioned to some friends, who looked upon the motion, at first, very unfavourably; yet were willing to take it into farther consideration. At Bristol he thought he had a clear call to try this method. The colliers, he had heard, were very rude, and very numerous; so uncultivated, that nobody cared to go among them; neither had they any place of worship; and often, when provoked, they were a terror to the whole city of Bristol. He, therefore, looked upon the civilizing of these people; and much more, the bringing of them to the profession and practice of Christianity, as a matter of great importance.* After much prayer, and many struggles with himself, he one day went to Hannam Mount, and standing upon a hill, began to preach to about a hundred colliers, upon Mat. v. 1, 2, 3. This soon took air. At the second and third time the numbers greatly increased, till the congregation, at a mode-

* "I thought it might be doing the service of my Creator, who had a mountain for his pulpit, and the heavens for his sounding board; and who, when his Gospel was refused by the Jews, sent his servants into the highways and hedges." MS.

rate computation, amounted to near twenty thousand. But with what gladness and eagerness many of these despised outcasts, who had never been in a church in their lives, received the word, is above description. "Having (as he writes) no righteousness of their own to renounce, they were glad to hear of a Jesus who was a friend to publicans, and came not to call the righteous, but sinners, to repentance. The first discovery of their being affected was, to see the white gutters made by their tears, which plentifully fell down their black cheeks, as they came out of their coal pits. Hundreds and hundreds of them were soon brought under deep convictions, which (as the event proved) happily ended in a sound and thorough conversion. The change was visible to all, though numbers chose to impute it to any thing, rather than the finger of God. As the scene was quite new, and I had just begun to be an extempore preacher, it often occasioned many inward conflicts. Sometimes, when twenty thousand people were before me, I had not, in my own apprehension, a word to say, either to God or them. But I was never totally deserted, and was frequently (for to deny it would be lying against God) so assisted, that I knew by happy experience, what our Lord meant by saying, 'Out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.' The open firmament above me, the prospect of the adjacent fields, with the sight of thousands and thousands, some in coaches, some on horseback, and some in the trees, and, at times, all affected and drenched in tears to-

gether, to which, sometimes, was added, the solemnity of the approaching evening, was almost too much for, and quite overcame, me."*

Besides the colliers, and thousands from neighbouring villages, persons of all ranks flocked daily out of Bristol. And he was soon invited to preach, by some of the better sort, in a large bowling-green in the city itself. Many, indeed, sneered to see a stripling, with a gown, mount a table, upon what they called unconsecrated ground. And, for once or twice, it excited the contempt and laughter of the higher ranks, who formerly were his admirers when he preached in the churches. But God enabled him to stand the laugh, and to preach the Gospel of Christ with earnestness and constancy; and was pleased to attend it with his blessing.—From all quarters people flocked under great concern about their souls. Sometimes he was employed almost from morning to night, giving answer to those who came in great distress, crying out, "What shall we do to be saved?" More assistance was wanted; he, therefore, wrote to Mr. John Wesley, who had never yet been at Bristol, and, having received a favourable answer, recommended him and his brother, in the strongest manner, to the people, and earnestly prayed that the last might be first; for he was determined to pursue his scheme of the Orphan-house, and return again to his retreat at Georgia.

Mr. Wesley being come, he took an affectionate leave of his friends at Bristol, and made a second

* MS.

excursion to Wales, where an awakening had begun some years before, by the instrumentality of the Rev. Mr. Griffith Jones, and was now carried on by the ministry of one Mr. Howel Harris, a layman. They met at Cardiff, and, in company with many others, went to Husk, Pontypool, Abergavenny, Comihoy, Carleon, Trelex, and Newport, and preached in all these places, Mr. Whitefield first in English, and Mr. Harris, afterwards, in Welch, to many thousands. The serious persons among them, of the Free Grace Dissenters, rejoiced; but many of high-flying principles, and of another stamp, were equally enraged, and expressed their dislike by mockings and threats. All these, however, he was enabled to bear with patience, and without the least discouragement.

About the 8th of April, from Wales he went to Gloucester, the place of his birth, where a church was allowed him for once or twice, but no more. However, he preached frequently in Boothall (the place where the judges sit), and in his brother's field, to many thousands.* His concern for his country-

* At the time of Mr. Whitefield's preaching in Gloucester, old Mr. Cole, a dissenting-minister, used to say, "These are days of the Son of Man indeed!" This Mr. Cole, Mr. Whitefield, when a boy, was taught to ridicule. And being asked once, by one of his congregation, what business he would be of? he said, "A minister; but he would take care never to tell stories in the pulpit, like old Cole." About twelve years afterwards, the old man hearing him preach, and tell some story to illustrate the subject he was upon, and having been informed what he had before said, made this remark to one of his elders, "I find that young Whitefield can now tell stories, as well as old Cole." He was much affected with Mr. Whitefield's preaching, and so humble, that he used to subscribe himself his curate; and went about preaching after him in

men, his fellow-citizens, and his own relations, made him forget all bodily weakness (to which, about this time, he was frequently subject), and readily to comply with invitations given to preach at Painswick, Cheltenham, Evesham, Badsey, Stroud, Chafford, places abounding with inhabitants, and, where, there is ground to hope, many received much spiritual benefit. To wander thus about from place to place, to stand in bowling greens, at market crosses, and in highways, especially in his own country—where, had he conferred with flesh and blood, he might have lived at ease; to be blamed by friends, and have every evil thing spoken against him by his enemies, was (especially when his body was weak, and his spirits low) very trying; but still he was inwardly supported.

April 21. He again went to Oxford; and, after staying a few days with the Methodists there, came to London, where he attempted to preach at Islington church, the incumbent, Mr. Stonehouse, being a friend to the Methodists; but, in the midst of the prayers, the church-warden came, and demanded his

---

the country from place to place. But, one evening, whilst preaching he was struck with death, and then asked for a chair to lean on, till he concluded his sermon, when he was carried up stairs, and died. Mr. Whitefield's reflection upon this (Letter DXXIII.) is, "O blessed God! if it be thy holy will, may my exit be like his!"

As to Mr. Whitefield's telling stories in the pulpit, some, perhaps, may find fault; but, beside that he had an uncommon fund of passages, proper enough to be thus told, and a peculiar talent of telling them, it was, certainly, a mean of drawing multitudes to hear him, who would not have attended to the truths of the Gospel, delivered in the ordinary manner.

license, or otherwise he forbad his preaching in that pulpit. He might, perhaps, have insisted on his right to preach, yet for peace sake he declined; and, after the communion service was over, he preached in the church-yard.

Opportunities of preaching in a more regular way being now denied him, and his preaching in the fields being attended with a remarkable blessing, he judged it his duty to go on in this practice, and ventured, the following Sunday, into Moorfields. Public notice having been given, and the thing being new and singular, upon coming out of the coach he found an incredible number of people assembled. Many had told him that he should never come again out of that place alive. He went in, however, between two of his friends; who, by the pressure of the crowd, were soon parted entirely from him, and were obliged to leave him to the mercy of the rabble. But these, instead of hurting him, formed a lane for him, and carried him along to the middle of the fields (where a table had been placed, which was broken in pieces by the crowd), and, afterwards, back again to the wall that then parted the Upper and Lower Moorfields; from whence he preached to an exceeding great multitude in the Lower Fields. Finding such encouragement, he went, that same evening, to Kennington-common, a large open place, near three miles distant from London, where he preached to a vast multitude, who were all attention, and behaved with as much regularity and quietness, as if they had been in a church.

CHAP. V.

From his Preaching in Moorfields, &c. to his laying the Foundation of the Orphan-house in Georgia, 1740.

For several months after this, Moorfields, Kennington-common, and Blackheath, were the chief scenes of action. At a moderate computation, the auditories often consisted of above twenty thousand. It is said their singing could be heard two miles off, and his voice near a mile. Sometimes there were upwards of a hundred coaches, besides waggons, scaffolds, and other contrivances, which particular persons let out for the convenience of the audience. Having no other method to take, he was obliged to collect for the Orphan-house in the fields, or not at all; which was humbling to him and his friends, who assisted him in that work. But the readiness with which the people gave, and the prayers which they put up, when throwing in their mites, were very encouraging.* In the mean while, Mr. John Wesley was labouring with great zeal at Bristol; his brother, Mr. Charles, in London and elsewhere; Mr. Ingham had been preaching in many churches of Yorkshire; Mr. Kinchin, in Oxford; and Mr. Rogers, in Bedfordshire. Thus the seed sown was gradually increased, and the embargo which was now laid on the shipping, gave him leisure for more journies through

* "Once upwards of twenty pounds were collected in half-pence." MS.

various parts of England; and God was pleased to crown his labours with amazing success.

Some demur happening in Bristol, he went there a few days; put Mr. John Wesley (who had now made a progress in building the Kingswood school, and also had begun a room at Bristol) in full power; and took him along with him, and introduced him as a field-preacher, at Gloucester and other places. Every where the word seemed to sink deeper and deeper into the hearts of the hearers. Singing and praying were heard in Kingswood, instead of cursing and swearing; and in many other places the fruits of righteousness evidently appeared.

Many false reports were now spread abroad concerning him. Not a journey he could make, but he was either killed or wounded, or died suddenly. One groundless fiction was continually invented after another. And the Bishop of London laid hold of this occasion for publishing a charge to his clergy, to avoid the extremes of enthusiasm and lukewarmness. But, amidst these discouragements, he was not left without the countenance and friendship of several persons of influence.

The embargo being taken off, and upwards of a thousand pounds collected for the Orphan-house, he sailed, the second time, for America, August 14, 1739, with a family consisting of eight men, one boy, and two children, besides his friend Mr. Seward.

After a passage of nine weeks,* he arrived at Phi-

* For the manner in which he employed his time on board, see his Journals and Letters of this period. A little before he sailed he

ladelphia in the beginning of November, and was immediately invited to preach in the churches, to which people of all denominations thronged, as in England. From thence he was invited to New-York, by Mr. Noble, the only person with whom he had any acquaintance in that part of America. Upon his arrival they waited on the commissary; but he refused him the use of his church.—Mr. Whitefield, therefore, preached in the fields; and, on the evening of the same day, to a very thronged and attentive audience, in the Rev. Mr. Pemberton's meeting-house: and continued to do so twice or thrice a-day for above a week; and by all that could be judged, with very great success.

On his way to and from Philadelphia, he also preached at Elizabeth-town, Maidenhead, Abingdon, Neshamini, Burlington, and New Brunswick, in the New Jerseys, to some thousands gathered from various parts, among whom there had been a considerable awakening, by the instrumentality of one Mr. Freelinghausen, a Dutch minister, and the Messrs. Tennents, Blair, and Rowland. He had also the pleasure of meeting with old Mr. Tennent, as well as his sons, and with Mr. Dickinson.* It was no less

finished his Answer to the Bishop of London's Pastoral letter. And, during the voyage, he wrote his Letter to the Religious Societies of England. See his Works.

* "Mr. Tennent, and his brethren in presbytery, intend breeding up gracious youths for our Lord's vineyard. The place wherein the young men study now, is a log-house, about twenty feet long, and near as many broad. From this despised place, seven or

pleasing than strange to him, to see such gatherings in a foreign land; ministers and people shedding tears; sinners struck with awe; and serious persons, who had been much run down and despised, filled with joy. Meantime the Orphan-house affairs went on well. The things brought from England were sold for their benefit. A sloop was purchased, of which Captain Gladman was master; and a young man, who had lately received serious impressions under Mr. Whitefield's preaching, willingly offered himself as mate. Many little presents were made to his family for sea stores, and the intended house; and, about the end of November, he took his leave of his family, and ordered them to proceed in their voyage to Savannah, while himself, with Mr. Seward, and two more, determined to go thither by land.

Numbers followed, some twenty, some sixty miles out from Philadelphia. He preached at Chester,

---

eight worthy ministers of Jesus have lately been sent forth, and a foundation is now laying for the instruction of many others. The work, I am persuaded, is of God, and therefore will not come to nought." Journals, November 22, 1739.

The event has verified his judgment about this institution. It is now a large college, at Princetown, in New Jerseys; and has already had many worthy presidents (some of whose names are well known in the learned world) such as Mr. Dickenson, Mr. Burr, Mr. Jonathan Edwards, Mr. Samuel Davies, Dr. Finley, and, at present, Dr. Witherspoon, by whose abilities, care, and activity it is, under Providence, in a very flourishing condition.

And there has been lately (summer 1770) a remarkable revival of religion among the students, both in the college and grammar-school.

Wilmington, Newcastle (where he was met on the way by Mr. Ross, minister of the place), Christian-bridge, and Whitely Creek, where Mr. William Tennent (whose meeting-house is in the neighbourhood) had erected a tent for him. Here he observed new scenes of field-preaching, or rather preaching in the woods, opened to him. At Whitely-Creek, perhaps, the congregation did not consist of less than ten thousand. Earnest invitations were given him to come and preach elsewhere; which he had great encouragement to do, from the visible success of his labours; but he hasted to be with his family at Savannah.

In his way thither, he also preached in Maryland, at North East, and Joppa, and at Annapolis, the capital, where he was received with much civility by the Governor; and at Upper Marlborough.

In Virginia also, he preached at Williamsburgh, where he was courteously received by the Governor, and by Mr. Blair, the commissary, whom he speaks of with great regard.

When he came to North Carolina, he thought it seemed to be the greatest waste, and the most uncultivated of spots, both in a temporal and spiritual sense. Yet here, in a place called Newburn-town, his preaching was attended with an uncommon influence. And it was not without effect at Newton on Cape Fear river, where were many from Scotland amongst the congregation, who had lately come over to settle in North Carolina.

Immediately on coming into South Carolina pro-

vince, (he says) a visible change was observable in the manners of the people: and, when he came to Charlestown, (which was on Saturday, January 3, 1740) he could scarce believe but he was amongst Londoners, both in respect of gaiety of dress, and politeness of manners.

Here he soon perceived, that, by field-preaching, he had lost his old friend the commissary, who once promised to defend him with life and fortune. However, at the request of the Independent minister, (who continued his friend to his dying day) he preached in his meeting-house. At the first sermon, all was gay and trifling; no impression seemed made at all; but next morning, in the French church, the scene was quite altered. A visible, and almost universal concern appeared. Many of the inhabitants earnestly desired him to give them one sermon more; for which purpose he was prevailed upon to put off his journey till the next day; and there was reason to think his stay was not in vain.

Next morning, he and his companions set out in an open canoe for Savannah; and, in their way, for the first time, lay in the woods, upon the ground near a large fire, which keeps off the wild beasts; upon which he makes this reflection, "An emblem, I thought, of the divine love and presence keeping off evils and corruptions from the soul."*

On his arrival at Savannah, January 11, he was very happy to meet his family, who had got there

* MS.

Site of the Orphan-House chosen by Mr. Habersham.

three weeks before him; and to find, by letters from England, New York, &c. that the work of God prospered. But it was a melancholy thing to see the colony of Georgia reduced even to a much lower ebb than when he left it, and almost deserted by all but such as could not well go away. Employing these, therefore, he thought would be of singular service, and the money expended might be also a means of keeping them in the colony.

Before his arrival, Mr. Habersham had pitched upon a plot of ground for the Orphan-house, of 500 acres, about ten miles from Savannah, and had already begun to clear and stock it. The orphans, in the mean time, were accommodated in a hired house. On this, many years after, he makes the following reflections: "Had I proceeded according to the rules of prudence, I should have first cleared the land, built the house, and then taken in the orphans; but I found their condition so pitiable, and the inhabitants so poor, that I immediately opened an infirmary, hired a large house at a great rent, and took in, at different times, twenty-four orphans. To all this I was encouraged by the example of Professor Franck. But I forgot to recollect, that Professor Franck built in Glaucha, in a populous country, and that I was building in the very tail of the world, where I could not expect the least supply, and which the badness of its constitution, which every day I expected would be altered, rendered by far the most expensive part of all his Majesty's dominions. But, had I received

more, and ventured less, I should have suffered less, and others more."*

The first collection he made in America, was at the Rev. Mr. Smith's meeting-house in Charles Town, whither he went about the middle of March, to see his brother, the captain of a ship from England. He was desired, by some of the inhabitants, to speak in behalf of the poor orphans; and the collection amounted to seventy pounds sterling. This was no small encouragement to him at that time, especially as he had reason to think it came from those who had received spiritual benefit by his ministrations.

Having returned to Savannah, he went to the spot of ground, where he intended the Orphan-house should be built; and, upon the 25th day of March, 1740, laid the first brick of the great house, which he called Bethesda, i.e. a house of mercy.† By this time, near forty children were taken in, to be provided with food and raiment; and, counting the workmen and all, he had near a hundred to be daily fed. He had very little money in bank, and yet he was not discouraged; being persuaded, that the best thing he could do, at present, for the infant colony was, to carry on the work.

* MS.

† Long after this he writes, "Blessed be God, I have not been disappointed in the hope, that it would be a house and place of mercy to many, both in respect to body and soul." MS.

CHAP. VI.

From his laying the Foundation of the Orphan-house in Georgia, to his Arrival in England, 1741.

Mr. Whitefield again, therefore, set off in a sloop for Newcastle, in Pennsylvania, where he arrived about the middle of April. In this short passage of ten days, he was much discouraged, both by weakness of body, and low spirits. But, as he observed afterwards, Providence was infinitely better to him than his fears, and exceeded his most sanguine expectations. For, during the space of two months, he was strengthened to preach, generally twice, and frequently, besides travelling, thrice a-day. At Philadelphia, the churches were no longer allowed him; but he preached in the fields to congregations that consisted sometimes of near ten thousand, and with great apparent success. Large collections were made for the Orphan-house; once, not less than 110*l.* sterling. Societies for praying and singing were set on foot; and, in every part of the town, many were concerned about their salvation. Some were wrought upon in a more instantaneous, others in a more progressive, some in a more silent, others in a more violent manner.*

At New York, New Brunswick, Stratton Island,

* Many negroes came; some of them inquiring, "Have I a soul?" MS.

Baskenridge, Whitely-Creek, Frogs Manor, Reedy Island, there was great concern upon the minds both of the preacher and hearers.

Sometimes he was almost dead with heat and fatigue. Thrice a day he was lifted up upon his horse, unable to mount otherwise; then rode and preached, and came in and laid himself along upon two or three chairs. He did not doubt but such a course would soon take him to his desired rest. Yet he had many delightful hours with Messrs. Tennents, Blair, &c. "Night," says he, "was, as it were, turned into day, when we rode singing through the woods. I could not help recommending these men, wherever I went, in the strongest manner, because I saw they gloried in the cross of Christ."*

In a journal written by Mr. William Seward, (Mr. Whitefield's companion in travel) we have the following particulars belonging to this period:—

April 9, 1740. Mr. Whitefield proposed my going to England upon several important affairs, particularly to bring over Mr. Hutchins to take care of the Orphan-house in his absence. To acquaint the Trustees of Georgia with the state of the colony, and the means, under God, for the better establishment thereof, it being now upheld almost wholly by the soldiery and Orphan-house, most of the people who are unconcerned in either, being gone or going—The proper means are principally three, 1. An allowance of negroes. 2. A free title to the lands. 3. An independent magistracy, viz. such as are able and willing to serve without fee or reward. My business with the trustees will be farther, to bring over the money lodged in their hands for building the church at Savannah. I am, moreover, to collect subscriptions for a negro school in Pennsylvania, where our brother Whitefield proposes to take up land, in order to settle a town for

* MS.

the reception of such English friends, whose hearts God shall incline to come and settle there.

"*April* 13. Mr. Tennent informed us of the great success which had attended our brother Whitefield's preaching, when here last. For some time, a general silence was fixed by the Lord on people's minds, and many began seriously to think on what foundation they stood.—A general outward reformation has been visible. Many ministers have been quickened in their zeal to preach the word in season and out of season. Congregations are increased; and some few, it is hoped, will be brought, through their convictions, into a sound and saving conversion.

"*April* 14. Mr. Jones, the Baptist minister, told us of two other ministers, Mr. Treat and Mr. Morgan, who were so affected with our brother Whitefield's spirit, that the latter had gone forth, preaching the glad tidings of salvation, towards the sea-coast in the Jerseys, and many other places which lay in darkness and the shadow of death. The former told his congregation, that he had been hitherto deceiving himself and them; and that he could not preach to them at present, but desired they would join in prayer with him.

"*April* 15. We were informed, that an Indian trader was so affected with brother Whitefield's doctrine, that he is gone to teach the Indians, with whom he used to trade.

"*April* 18. This day was published our brother Whitefield's letter to the inhabitants of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, about their abuse of the poor negroes.*

---

* The substance of this letter being closely pertinent to the Question of the *Slave Trade*, the Editor has inserted it at length, in the present edition, for the gratification of those who may not have a ready access to Mr. Whitefield's *Works*.

"*To the Inhabitants of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina.*

"*Savannah, Jan.* 23, 1740.

"As I lately passed through your provinces, in my way hither, I was sensibly touched with a fellow-feeling of the miseries of the poor negroes. Could I have preached more frequently among you, I should have delivered my thoughts to you in my public discourses; but, as business here required me to stop as little as possible on the road, I have no other way to discharge the concern which at present lies upon my heart, than by sending you this letter. How you will receive it, I know not; whether you will accept it in love, or be offended with me, as the master of the damsel was with *Paul* for casting the evil spirit out of her, when he saw the hope

Remarkable effect of an intended mockery.

" Heard of a drinking club that had a negro boy attending them, who used to mimic people for their diversion. The gentlemen bid him mimic our brother Whitefield, which he was very unwilling to do; but they, insisting upon it, he stood up and said, " I speak the truth in Christ, I lie not; unless you repent, you will all be damned."—This unexpected speech broke up the club, which has not met since.

" — Notice was given of a new lecture at German-town every Thursday, by four ministers.

---

of his gain was gone, is uncertain: but, whatever be the event, I must inform you, in the meekness and gentleness of Christ, that I think God has a quarrel with you, for your abuse of, and cruelty to, the poor negroes. Whether it be lawful for christians to buy slaves, and thereby encourage the nations from whence they are brought to be at perpetual war with each other, I shall not take upon me to determine; but sure I am it is sinful, when bought, to use them as bad as, nay worse, than brutes: and, whatever particular exceptions there may be, (as I would charitably hope there are some) I fear the generality of you that own negroes, are liable to such a charge; for your slaves, I believe, work as hard, if not harder, than the horses whereon you ride.

" These, after they have done their work, are fed and taken proper care of; but many negroes, when wearied with labour in your plantations, have been obliged to grind their own corn after they return home.

" Your dogs are caressed and fondled at your tables; but your slaves, who are frequently styled dogs, or beasts, have not an equal privilege: they are scarce permitted to pick up the crumbs which fall from their masters tables; nay, some, as I have been informed by an eye-witness, have been, upon the most trifling provocation, cut with knives, and have had forks thrown into their flesh—not to mention what numbers have been given up to the inhuman usage of cruel task-masters, who, by their unrelenting scourges, have ploughed upon their backs, and made long furrows, and, at length, brought them even to death itself.

" 'Tis true, I hope there are but few such monsters of barbarity suffered to subsist amongst you: some, I hear, have been lately executed in Virginia for killing slaves; and the laws are very severe against such who, at any time, murder them.

" And perhaps it might be better for the poor creatures themselves, to be hurried out of life, than to be made so miserable as they generally are in it. And, indeed, considering what usage they commonly meet with, I have wondered, that we have not more instances of self-murder among the negroes, or that they have not more frequently risen up in arms against their owners. Virginia has been once, and Charles Town more than once, threatened in this way.

Land purchased for the erection of a Negro school.

"*April* 22. Agreed with Mr. Allen for five thousand acres of land on the forks of Delaware, at 2200*l.* sterling, the conveyance to be made to Mr. Whitefield, and, after that, assigned to me, as security for my advancing the money. Mr. Whitefield proposes to give orders for building the negro school on the purchased land, before he leaves the province.

"*April* 24. Came to Christopher Wigner's plantation in Skippack, where many Dutch people are settled, and where the

"And though I heartily pray God, they may never be permitted to get the upper hand; yet, should such a thing be permitted by Providence, all good men must acknowledge the judgment would be just. For, is it not the highest ingratitude, as well as cruelty, not to let your poor slaves enjoy some fruits of their labour?

"When passing along, whilst I have viewed your plantations cleared and cultivated, many spacious houses built, and the owners of them faring sumptuously every day, my blood has frequently almost run cold within me, to consider how many of your slaves had neither convenient food to eat, nor proper raiment to put on, notwithstanding most of the comforts you enjoy, were solely owing to their indefatigable labours. The scripture says, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn." Does God take care of oxen? And will he not take care of the negroes also? Undoubtedly he will. "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you." Behold the provision of the poor negroes which have reaped down your fields, which is by you denied them, crieth, and the cries of them who reaped, are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. We have a remarkable instance of God's taking cognizance, and avenging the quarrel of poor slaves, 2 *Sam.* xxi. 1. "Then there was a famine in the days of David, three years, year after year; and David inquired of the Lord: and the Lord answered, It is for Saul and his bloody house, because he slew the Gibeonites." Two things are here very remarkable; first, that these Gibeonites were only hewers of wood and drawers of water; or, in other words, slaves like yours—Secondly, that this plague was sent by God, many years after the injury, the cause of the plague, was committed. And for what end was this and such like examples recorded in holy scripture? Without doubt, for our learning, upon whom the ends of the world are come: for God is the same to-day, as he was yesterday, and will continue the same for ever. He does not reject the prayer of the poor and destitute, nor disregard the cry of the meanest negroes: their blood which has been spilt, for these many years in your respective provinces, will ascend up to Heaven against you; I wish I could say, it would speak better things than the blood of Abel. But this is not all. Enslaving or misusing their bodies, comparatively speaking, would be an inconsiderable evil, was proper care taken of their souls: but I have great reason to believe, that most of you, on purpose, keep your negroes

famous Mr. Spalemburg resided lately. It was surprising to see such a multitude of people gathered together in such a wilderness country, thirty miles distant from Philadelphia. Our brother was exceedingly carried out in his sermon, to press poor sinners to come to Christ by faith, and claim all their privileges; viz. not only righteousness and peace, but joy in the Holy Ghost: and, after he had done, our dear friend, Peter Boehler, preached in Dutch, to those who could not understand our brother in English.

---

ignorant of Christianity; or otherwise, why are they permitted, through your provinces, openly to profane the Lord's day, by their dancing, piping, and such like? I know the general pretence for this neglect of their souls, is, that teaching them Christianity would make them proud; and, consequently, unwilling to submit to slavery. But what a dreadful reflection is this upon your holy religion? What blasphemous notions must those have, that make such an objection, of the precepts of Christianity! Do you find any one command in the Gospel, that has the least tendency to make people forget their relative duties? Do you not read, that servants, and as many as are under the yoke of bondage, are required to be subject, in all lawful things, to their masters, and that not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward? Nay, may not I appeal to your own hearts, whether deviating from the laws of Jesus Christ, is not the cause of all the evils and miseries mankind now universally groan under, and of all the vices we find both in ourselves and others? Certainly it is. And, therefore, the reason why servants generally prove so bad is, because so little care is taken to breed them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. But some will be so bold, perhaps, as to reply, "That a few of the negroes have been taught Christianity, and notwithstanding have been remarkably worse than others." But what Christianity were they taught? They were baptized, and taught to read and write: and this they may do, and much more, and yet be far from the kingdom of God; for there is a vast difference between civilizing and christianizing a negro. A black, as well as a white man, may be civilized by outward restraints, and afterwards break through those restraints again; but I challenge the world to produce a single instance, of a negro's being made a thorough Christian, and thereby made a worse servant: it cannot be. But further, if the teaching slaves Christianity has such a bad influence upon their lives, why are you generally desirous of having your children taught? Think you, they are any way better by nature, than the poor negroes? No, in no wise. Blacks are just as much, and no more, conceived and born in sin, as white men are: both, if born and bred up here, I am persuaded, are naturally capable of the same improvement. And as for the grown negroes, I am apt to think, whenever the Gospel is preached with power amongst them, that many will be brought effectually home to God. Your present

His visit to a penitent at Philadelphia.

" Before our brother left Philadelphia, he was desired to visit one who was under a deep sense of sin from hearing him preach. And, in praying with this person, he was so carried beyond himself, that the whole company (which were about twenty) seemed to be filled with the Holy Ghost, and magnified the God of heaven.

---

and past bad usage of them, however ill-designed, may thus far do them good, as to break their wills, increase the sense of their natural misery, and, consequently, better dispose their minds to accept the redemption wrought out for them by the death and obedience of Jesus Christ. Not long since, God hath been pleased to make some of the negroes in New England, vessels of mercy; and some, I hear, have been brought to cry out, " What shall we do to be saved?" in the province of Pennsylvania. Doubtless there is a time, when the fulness of the Gentiles will come in; and then, I believe, if not before, these despised slaves will find the gospel of Christ to be the power of God to their salvation, as well as we. But I know all arguments to prove the necessity of taking care of your negroes' souls, though never so conclusive, will prove ineffectual, till you are convinced of the necessity of securing the salvation of your own. That you yourselves are not effectually convinced of this, I think, is too notorious to want evidence. A general deadness as to divine things, and not to say a general profaneness, is discernible both in pastors and people.

" Most of you are without any teaching priest. And, whatever quantity of rum there may be, yet, I fear, but very few bibles are annually imported into your different provinces. God has already begun to visit you for this, as well as for other wicked things. For near two years last past, he has been, in a remarkable manner, contending with the people of South Carolina: their houses have been depopulated with the small pox and fever, and their own slaves have risen up in arms against them. These judgments are, undoubtedly, sent abroad, not only that the inhabitants of that, but of other provinces, should learn righteousness: and, unless you all repent, you all must, in like manner, expect to perish. God first generally corrects us with whips: if that will not do, he must chastise us with scorpions. A foreign enemy is now threatening to invade you; and nothing will more provoke God, to give you up as a prey into their teeth, than impenitence and unbelief. Let these be removed, and the sons of violence shall not be able to hurt you: no; your oxen shall be strong to labour; there shall be no decay of your people by epidemical sickness; no leading away into captivity from abroad; and no complaining in your streets at home. Your sons shall grow up as young plants, and your daughters be as the polished corners of the temple: and, to sum up all blessings in one, " Then shall the Lord be your God." That you may be the people who are in such a happy case, is the earnest prayer of

" Your sincere well-wisher and servant in Christ,

" GEORGE WHITEFIELD."

"*April* 25. Rose at three o'clock: and, though our brother Whitefield was very weak in body, yet the Lord enabled him to ride near fifty miles, and to preach to about 5000 people at Amwell, with the same power as usual.—Mr. Gilbert Tennent, Mr. Rowland, Mr. Wales, and Mr. Campbel, four godly ministers, met us here.

"*April* 26. Came to New Brunswick.—Met Mr. Noble from New York, a zealous promoter of our Lord's kingdom. He said their society at New York was increased from seventy to one hundred and seventy, and was daily increasing; and that Messrs. Gilbert and William Tennent, Mr. Rowland, and several others, were hard labourers in our Lord's vineyard.

"*April* 28. Had a most affectionate parting with our dear brother Whitefield, and our other brethren."

The rest of Mr. Seward's journal was written mostly during his passage to England, where he arrived, June 19, and with which it concludes. Mr. Whitefield, in the new edition of his Journals, 1756, observes, April 28, 1740—"This was the last time I saw my worthy friend; for, before my return to England, he was entered into his rest, having left behind, a glorious testimony of the transforming efficacy of converting grace. This hath also been the happy case of his brother Benjamin, who lately finished his course with joy."

With great joy he reached Savannah on the 5th of June, bringing his orphans, in money and provisions, upwards of 500*l.* sterling. Next day, when they came to public worship, young and old were all dissolved in tears. Some, who came to visit them, were also deeply impressed; particularly Mr. Hugh Bryan and his family, and some of his relations. Several from Beauford, in South Carolina, then received their first impressions. All these things gave him great encouragement. And though his family was now great, (near 150, including workmen) and the plan laid down would have required some thousands to support it; and although very

often he had not twenty pounds in cash, he was still kept from being disheartened; and his friends, believing the work to be of God, continued cheerfully to assist him.

Though he was very weak in body, yet the cry from various quarters for more preaching, and the necessity of supplying so large a family, made him go again to Charles Town, where, as well as at Dorchester, Ashley Ferry, Ponpon, and John's Island, he preached to very attentive and affected auditories. Charles Town was the place of the greatest success, and of the greatest opposition. The commissary poured out his anathemas, refused to give him the sacrament, and published some letters against him. But all in vain. He preached, twice almost every day, to great crowds, in the Independent and Baptist meeting-houses; besides expounding in the evening in merchants' houses. Thus he went on successfully (though often ready to die with the excessive heat) till the end of August: when, having received most pressing invitations from the Rev. Dr. Colman and Mr. Cooper, ministers in Boston; and, being desirous of seeing the descendants of the good old Puritans, and their seats of learning; and having encouragement that something might be done for the Orphan-house, he embarked in the Orphan-house sloop for New England, in company with several Charles Town friends, and arrived at Rhode Island, September 14.

Here several gentlemen soon came to visit him, among whom was the Rev. Mr. Clap, an aged dis-

senting minister, in whom he thought he saw what manner of men the old puritans were, who first settled New England, and was much delighted with his conversation. They went together to the incumbent's house, to ask the use of the church, which was granted: and in it he preached three days, twice a-day, to deeply affected auditories.

This, he thought, was a happy entrance into New England. But he was still more agreeably surprised, when, before he got to Boston, he was met, several miles from the city, by the governor's son, and some of the ministers and principal inhabitants, who conducted him to Mr. St—nf—rd's (brother-in-law to Dr. Colman) who, with his colleague, Mr. Cooper, and many others, came and joined in prayer.

Jonathan Belcher, Esq. was then governor of the Massachuset's colony, and Josiah Willard, Secretary. Both these gentlemen were his sincere friends; so were the ministers, Messrs. Web, Foxcraft, Prince, Dr. Sewall, Gee, &c. To avoid, however, giving any just offence, he went to the English church to morning prayers; but finding, by conversation with the commissary, and some other clergy, that there was no access there, he began preaching, in the afternoon, at Dr. Colman's meeting-house, and so went round (except when he preached on the common) to the other meeting-houses, especially the largest of them, for some time together.

Governor Belcher generally attended; Secretary Willard, and several of the council, set the same example; and all seemed to vie who should show the

greatest respect. Congregations were exceeding large, both within and without, and were much affected. Old Mr. Walter, who succeeded Mr. Elliot, commonly called the Apostle of the Indians, at Roxbury, said it was puritanism revived: and Dr. Colman said, when preaching at his meeting-house the Sunday following, that "it was the happiest day he ever saw in his life."

He preached also at Cambridge, Marblehead, Ipswich, Newbury, Hampton, York, Portsmouth, Salem, and Moulden, to large congregations. The gentlemen of the greatest repute had their houses open in every place; collections were readily made for the orphans: and, in about a week, having preached sixteen times, and rode a hundred and seventy miles, he returned to Boston, October 6.

Here the congregations were still increased. At his farewell sermon it was supposed there were near twenty thousand people. He received a great number of letters, and could have spent whole days in conversing with those that came to him under soul concern. Ministers and students attended; little children were impressed. The contributions for the orphans were very considerable, amounting, in town and country, to near five hundred pounds sterling.

He set out next for Northampton: having read, in England, an account of a remarkable work of conversion there, published by their pastor, the Rev. Mr. Jonathan Edwards; and having a great desire to see him, and to hear the account from his own mouth.

At Concord, Sudbury, Marlborough, Worcester,

Great influence of his preaching in various parts.

Leicester, Hadley, places all lying in the way; pulpits and houses were every where opened, and a continued influence attended his preaching. At Northampton, when he came to remind them of what God had formerly done for them, it was like putting fire to tinder. Both minister and people were much moved; as were the children of the family, at an exhortation which their father desired Mr. Whitefield to give them.

After leaving Northampton, he preached in Westfield, Springfield, Suffield, Windsor, Hertford, Weathersfield, Middleton, and Wallingford, to large and affected congregations; and, October 23, reached Newhaven, where he was affectionately received by Mr. Pierpont, brother-in-law to Mr. Edwards, and had the pleasure of seeing his friend, Mr. Noble, of New York, who brought him letters from Georgia. Here, also, he was much refreshed with the conversation of several gospel ministers. It being assembly time, and the governor and burgesses then sitting, he stayed till Lord's day, and had the pleasure to see numbers daily impressed. The good old governor was particularly much affected; and, at a private visit which Mr. Whitefield paid him, said, "Thanks be to God for such refreshings in our way to heaven."

On Monday morning he set forward, and preached with usual success at Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, Newark, and Stanford, where he was visited by some ministers under deep concern.

This was on the borders of New York province, into which he now again entered, and preached at

Rye and Kingsbridge, on his way to the city of New York, where he arrived, October 30. Here, for three days successively, and afterwards at Staten Island, Newark, and Baskenridge, his preaching appeared to be attended with more success than ever. At Trenton he had a long conference with some ministers about Mr. Gilbert Tennent's complying with an invitation to go and preach in New England. After prayer, and considering the arguments both for and against this proposal, they thought it best he should go; which, however diffident of himself, he was persuaded to do; and his ministrations were attended with an extraordinary blessing to multitudes, as is particularly narrated elsewhere.*

* See Prince's Christian History, or, Historical Collections of the success of the Gospel, Vol. II. where the facts are set down in the order of time.

About this time Mr. Whitefield wrote his letter to some church-members of the Presbyterian persuasion, in answer to certain scruples and queries which they had proposed. See Works, Vol. IV.

What sort of reception he had in New England, will farther appear from the following letters of some eminent ministers of Boston, and adjacent towns, published by the Rev. Mr. Josiah Smith, of Charles-town, in the South Carolina Gazette.

"Rev. and dear Sir, *October* 1, 1740.

"Your kind letter by Mr. Whitefield, and your other, are both now before me. You raised our expectations of him very much, as did his Journals more, and Mr. P. of New York, concurred with them; but we own, now that we have seen and heard him, that our expectations are all answered and exceeded, not only in his zealous and fervent abounding labours, but in the command of the hearts and affections of his hearers. He has been received here as an angel of God, and servant of Jesus Christ. I hope this visit to us will be of very great use and benefit to ministers and people. He has found his heart and mouth much opened to

Returns to Philadelphia.

Saturday November 8, Mr. Whitefield came back to Philadelphia, and next day preached to several thousands in a house built for that purpose, since his last departure. Here he both heard of, and saw many,

speak freely and boldly to us, and he finds it received with joy." The same gentleman, November 29, 1740, writes thus:—"Mr. Whitefield left us seven weeks ago; the last week we heard of him at Philadelphia. I hear that much of the presence of God is with him. He has left a blessing behind him, we hope, with us. Our people, high and low, old and young, are very swift to hear. The excellent meekness of Mr. Whitefield's answer to the Querists, will honour him to you."

Another, in a letter, October 22, 1740, expresses himself thus:—"Though it is always a singular pleasure to me to hear from you, yet your two letters by Mr. Whitefield, had a new circumstance of pleasure from the dear hand that presented them. I perceive you were impatient to know what sort of entering in he had among us. We (ministers, rulers, and people) generally received him as an angel of God. When he preached his farewell sermon, in our common, there were twenty-three thousand, at a moderate computation. We are abundantly convinced that you spoke the words of truth and soberness in your sermon relating to him. Such a power and presence of God with a preacher, and in religious assemblies, I never saw before; but I would not limit the Holy One of Israel. The prejudices of many are quite conquered, and expectations of others vastly outdone, as they freely own. A considerable number are awakened, and many Christians seem to be greatly quickened. He has preached twice at Cambridge; he has one warm friend there, Mr. ———, the tutor, who has followed him to Northampton, and will, for ought I know, to Georgia. But Mr. Whitefield has not a warmer friend any-where, than the first man among us. Our governor has shewed him the highest respect, carried him in his coach from place to place, and could not help following him fifty miles out of town. I hope the religion of the country will fare the better for the impressions left on him."——The same gentleman writes, Dec. 2, 1740: "The man greatly beloved, I suppose, may be with you before now. That his visit here will be esteemed a distinguishing mercy of heaven by many, I am well satisfied. Every day gives

who were the fruits of his former ministrations; and continued among them till November 17, preaching twice a-day. Afterwards he preached in Gloucester, Greenwich, Piles-grove, Cohansie, Salem, Newcastle,

me fresh proofs of Christ speaking in him. A small set of gentlemen amongst us, when they saw the affections of the people so moved under his preaching, would attribute it only to the force of sound and gestures; but the impressions on many are so lasting, and have been so transforming, as to carry plain signatures of a divine hand going along with him." Another gentleman writes, October 21, 1740, and thanks me for recommending to him so worthy a person as the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, who has preached Christ, and the great truths of the gospel among them, with remarkable fervour of spirit, and to a general acceptance; and hopes that there are many awakened by his ministry. Another of the same date writes, That he had conceived very highly of him by some clauses in my private letters, and the sermon I preached by way of apology, &c. but confesses he had not gone high enough in his opinion of him, and that his expectations are more than answered in him.—Another, November 21, 1740, blesses God that he was sent thither; that he had so many opportunities of seeing him, and sitting under his ministry; that he appeared to him a wonderful man indeed; that his preaching was accompanied with a divine power and energy, beyond any man's he had ever heard before, and the effects of his ministry were very marvellous among them. I shall conclude with the following passage of another gentleman, in a letter of November 1, 1740. I received yours by the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, with whom I coveted a great deal more private conversation than I had opportunity for, by reason of the throngs of people almost perpetually with him. But he appears to be full of the love of God, and fired with an extraordinary zeal for the cause of Christ, and applies himself with the most indefatigable diligence that ever was seen among us, for the promoting the good of souls. His head, his heart, his hands, seem to be full of his master's business. His discourses, especially when he goes into the expository way, are very entertaining; very eye is fixed upon him, and every ear chained to his lips; most are very much affected; many awakened and convinced; and a general seriousness excited. His address

Whiteley-creek, Frog's-manor, Nottingham; in many or most of which places the congregations were numerous and deeply affected.

November 22, he got to Bohemia, in Maryland, and from thence he went to Reedy-island. At both places his preaching was attended with great influence; and, at the last (their sloop being detained by contrary winds near a week), he preached frequently. All the captains and crews of the ships that were wind-bound constantly attended, and great numbers crowded out of the country, some as far as from Philadelphia; and as great concern as ever came upon their minds.

December 1, he set sail from Reedy-island for Charles-Town, in South Carolina, and here he makes the following remark: "It is now the seventy-fifth day since I arrived at Rhode island. My body was then weak, but the Lord has much renewed its strength. I have been enabled to preach, I think, an hundred and seventy-five times in public, besides exhorting frequently in private. I have travelled

more especially to the passions, is wonderful, and beyond what I have ever seen. I think I can truly say, that his preaching has quickened me, and I believe it has many others besides, as well as the people. Several of my flock, especially the younger sort, have been brought under convictions by his preaching; and there is this remarkable amongst them, of the good effect of his preaching, that the word preached now by us, seems more precious to them, and comes with more power upon them. My prayer for him is, that his precious life may be lengthened out, and that he may be an instrument of reviving dying religion in all places whithersoever he comes, who seems to be wonderfully fitted for, as well as spirited to, it."

upwards of eight hundred miles, and gotten upwards of seven hundred pounds sterling, in goods, provisions, and money, for the Georgia orphans. Never did I perform my journies with so little fatigue, or see such a continuance of the divine presence in the congregations to whom I have preached. Praise the Lord, O my soul.*

After a pleasant passage of eight or nine days, and preaching again at Charles-town and Savannah, he arrived, on the 14th of December, at the Orphan-house, where he found his family comfortably settled. At Rhode island he had providentially met with one Mr. Jonathan Barber, whose heart was very much knit to him, and who was willing to help him at the Orphan-house. Him, therefore, he left superintendent for the spiritual, and Mr. Habersham for the temporal affairs; and, having spent a very comfortable Christmas with his orphan family, he set off again for Charles-town,† where he arrived January 3, 1741, and preached twice every day as usual, to most affectionate auditories, till the 16th of January, when he went on board for England. He arrived the 11th of March, at Falmouth, rode post to London, and preached at Kennington-common the Sunday following.

* Journals, December 1, 1740.

† At Charles town the commissary was going to proceed against him, for correcting and preparing for the press, a letter, written by Mr. Hugh B—n, in which it was hinted, that the clergy break their canons. He also laid him under suspension for omitting to use the form of prayer prescribed in the communion book, when officiating in a dissenting congregation. But Mr. Whitefield gave security for his appearance, and appealed home.

CHAP. VII.

From his arrival in England, in the Year 1741, *to his leaving Scotland, the same Year.*

THE new and unexpected situation in which he now found himself, will be best described in his own words:—"But what a trying scene appeared here! In my zeal, during my journey through America, I had written two well-meant, though injudicious letters, against England's two great favourites, The Whole Duty of Man, and Archbishop Tillotson, who, I said, knew no more of religion than Mahomet. The Moravians had made inroads upon the societies. Mr. John Wesley, some way or other, had been prevailed on to preach and print in favour of Perfection, and Universal redemption; and very strongly against Election; a doctrine, which I thought, and do now believe, was taught me of God, therefore could not possibly recede from it. Thinking it my duty so to do, I had written an answer at the Orphan-house, which, though revised and much approved of by some good and judicious divines, I think, had some too strong expressions about Absolute reprobation, which the apostle leaves rather to be inferred than expressed. The world was angry at me for the former, and numbers of my own spiritual children for the latter. One that got some hundreds of pounds by my sermons, being led away by the Moravians, refused to print for me any more; and others wrote to me that God would

destroy me in a fortnight; and that my fall was as great as Peter's. Instead of having thousands to attend me, scarce one of my spiritual children came to see me from morning to night. Once, at Kennington-common, I had not above a hundred to hear me. At the same time, I was much embarrassed in my outward circumstances. A thousand pounds I owed for the Orphan-house; two hundred and fifty pounds, bills drawn upon Mr. Seward, now dead, were returned upon me. I was also threatened to be arrested for two hundred pounds more. My travelling expenses also to be defrayed. A family of a hundred to be daily maintained, four thousand miles off, in the dearest place of the king's dominions. Ten thousand times would I rather have died, than part with my old friends. It would have melted any heart to have heard Mr. Charles Wesley and me weeping, after prayer, that, if possible, the breach might be prevented. Once I preached in the Foundery (a place which Mr. John Wesley had procured in my absence), on Gal. iii. but no more. All my work was to begin again. One day, I was exceedingly refreshed in reading Beza's life of Calvin, wherein were these words, 'Calvin is turned out of Geneva, but behold a new church arises.' A gentlewoman lent me three hundred pounds to pay the present Orphan-house demand; and a serious person (whom I never saw or heard of) giving me one guinea, I had such confidence, that I ran down with it to a friend, and expressed my hope that God, who sent this person with the guinea, would make it up fif-

teen hundred; which was the sum I thought would be wanted.

"Never had I preached in Moorfields on a week day. But, in the strength of God, I began on Good-Friday, and continued twice a-day, walking backward and forward from Leadenhall, for some time, preaching under one of the trees, and had the mortification of seeing numbers of my spiritual children, who, but a twelvemonth ago could have plucked out their eyes for me, running by me whilst preaching, disdaining so much as to look at me, and some of them putting their fingers in their ears, that they might not hear one word I said.

"A like scene opened at Bristol, where I was denied preaching in the house I had founded—busy bodies, on both sides, blew up the coals. A breach ensued. But, as both sides differed in judgment, and not in affection, and aimed at the glory of our common Lord, though we hearkened too much to tale-bearers on both sides, we were kept from anathematizing each other, and went on in our usual way; being agreed in one point, endeavouring to convert souls to the ever blessed Mediator."*

* About this time he was ordered to attend in the Parliament House, to give information concerning the state of the colony in Georgia. "April 10, 1741. I have been at the Parliament House. The Georgia affair was adjourned. It was somewhat of a trial to be in the House. I then remembered what the Apostle said, 'We are become a spectacle to men and to angels.' My appeal will come to nothing, I believe. I have waited upon the speaker. He received me kindly." Letter CCLXXIV.

Again, "He treated me kindly, and assured me, that there would be no persecution in this King's reign." Letter CCLXXXVI.

In consequence of this, one Mr. Cennick, a preacher, who could not fall in with Mr. Wesley's sentiments, and one or two more in like circumstances, having joined Mr. Whitefield, they began a new house in Kingswood, and soon established a school among them, that favoured Calvinistical principles. And here, and in several other places, they preached to very large and serious congregations, in the same manner as he had done in America.

Thither he intended to return as soon as possible. Meantime, it being inconvenient, on account of the weather, to preach morning and evening in Moorfields, some free-grace Dissenters (who stood by him closely in that time of trial) got the loan of a piece of ground, and engaged with a carpenter to build a large temporary shed, to screen the auditory from cold and rain, which he called a Tabernacle, as it was only intended to be made use of for a few months, during his stay in his native country. The place fixed upon was very near the foundery, which he disliked, because he thought it looked like erecting altar against altar; but, upon this occasion he remarks, "All was wonderfully over-ruled for good, and for the furtherance of the Gospel. A fresh awakening immediately began. Congregations grew exceeding large, and, at the people's desire, I sent (necessity reconciling me more and more to lay-preaching) for Messrs. Cennick, Harris, Seagrave, Humphries, &c. &c. &c. to assist."*

* MS.

Fresh doors were now opened to him, and invitations sent to him from many places, where he had never been. At a common, near Braintree, in Essex, upwards of ten thousand persons attended. At Halstead, Dedham, Cossleshall, Weathersfield, Colchester, Bury, Ipswich, the congregations were very large and much affected.*

At this time also, he was strongly solicited by religious persons, of different persuasions, to visit Scotland. Several letters had passed between him and the Messrs. Erskines, some time before,† and he

* "Sweet was the conversation I had with several ministers of Christ. But our own clergy grew more and more shy, now they knew I was a Calvinist; though no doubt (as Mr. Bedford told me, when going to the bishop of London) our articles are Calvinistical." MS.

† See his Journals, and his Letters to the Rev. Mr. R. E. and the Rev. Mr. E. E.

In his last to Mr. E. E. before coming to Scotland, (Letter CCLXXX.) he writes, "May 16, 1741. This morning I received a kind letter from your brother Ralph, who thinks it best for me wholly to join the Associate Presbytery, if it should please God to send me into Scotland. This I cannot altogether come into. I come only as an occasional preacher, to preach the simple gospel to all that are willing to hear me, of whatever denomination. It will be wrong in me to join in a reformation, as to church government, any further than I have light given me from above. If I am quite neuter, as to that, in my preaching, I cannot see how it can hinder or retard any design you may have on foot. My business seems to be, to evangelize, to be a presbyter at large. When I shall be sent into your parts I know not. I write this, that there may not be the least misunderstanding between us. I love and honour the Associate Presbytery, in the bowels of Jesus Christ: but let them not be offended, if, in all things, I cannot immediately fall in with them."

To the same purpose he writes to Mr. R. E. May 23, 1741. Letter CCLXXXVIII.

had a great desire to see them. He, therefore, took his passage from London to Leith, where (after five days, which he employed in writing many excellent letters to his orphans, &c. See Letters CCCXI. to CCCXXXIV.) he arrived, July 30, 1741. Several persons of distinction most gladly received him, and would have had him preach at Edinburgh directly; but he was determined that the Rev. Messrs. Erskines should have the first offer; and, therefore, went immediately to Dunfermline, and preached in Mr. Erskine's meeting-house.

Great persuasions were used to detain him at Dunfermline, and as great to keep him from preaching for, and visiting, the Rev. Mr. Wardlaw, who had been colleague to Mr. Ralph Erskine above twenty years; and who, as well as the Rev. Mr. Davidson, a dissenting minister in England, that went along with Mr. Whitefield, was looked upon as perjured, for not adhering to the Solemn League and Covenant. This was new language to him, and, therefore, unintelligible. But that he might be better informed, it was proposed that the Rev. Mr. Moncrief, Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, and others, members of the Associate Presbytery, should convene, in a few days, in order to give him farther light.

In the mean time, Mr. Ralph Erskine accompanied him to Edinburgh, where he preached in the Orphan-house park (field-preaching being no novelty in Scotland) to a very large and affected auditory, upon these words, "The Kingdom of God is not Meat and Drink, but Righteousness, and Peace, and

Joy in the Holy Ghost." The next day he preached in the West Kirk, and expressed great pleasure in hearing two Gospel sermons from the Rev. Mr. Gusthart, and the Rev. Mr. Macvicar; and the following day, he preached in the Cannongate church, where Mr. Ralph Erskine, went up with him into the pulpit.

According to promise, he returned with him to Dunfermline, where Mr. E. Erskine, and several of the Associate Presbytery were met together. When Mr. Whitefield came, they soon proposed to proceed to business. He asked them for what purpose? They answered, to discourse, and set him right about church government, and the Solemn League and Covenant. He replied, they might save themselves that trouble, for he had no scruple about it; and that settling church government, and preaching about the Solemn League and Covenant were not his plan. He then told them something of his experience, and how he was led into his present way of acting. One of them, in particular, said he was deeply affected; and Mr. E. Erskine desired they would have patience with him, for that, having been born and bred in England, and never studied the point, he could not be supposed to be perfectly acquainted with it. But Mr. M. insisted, that he was, therefore, more inexcuseable, for England had revolted most with respect to church government; and, that he, being born and educated there, could not but be acquainted with the matter in debate. Mr. Whitefield told him, he had never yet made the Solemn League and Covenant

the subject of his study, being too busy about matters which he judged of greater importance. Several replied, that every pin of the Tabernacle was precious. He answered, that, in every building, there were outside and inside workmen; that the latter, at present, was his province; that, if they thought themselves called to the former, they might proceed in their own way, and he would proceed in his. He then asked them, seriously, what they would have him to do? The answer was, that he was not desired to subscribe immediately to the Solemn League and Covenant, but to preach only for them, till he had further light. He asked, Why only for them? Mr. R. E. said, "They were the Lord's people." He then asked, Were no other the Lord's people but themselves? If not, and if others were the devil's people, they had more need to be preached to; that, for his part, all places were alike to him, and that if the pope himself would lend him his pulpit, he would gladly proclaim in it the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ. Something passed about taking two of their brethren with him to England, to settle Presbytery there; and then, with two more, to go and settle Presbytery in America. But he asked, Suppose a number of Independents should come, and declare, that after the greatest search, they were convinced that Independency was the right church government, and would disturb nobody, if tolerated, should they be tolerated? They answered, No.—Soon after this the company broke up. And Mr. M. preached upon Isa. xxi. 11, 12. "Watchmen, what of the night? &c." And took

occasion to declaim strongly against the ceremonies of the Church of England, and to argue,* "That one who held Communion with that church, or with the backslidden church of Scotland, could not be an instrument of reformation." The consequence of all this was, an open breach. Mr. Whitefield retired thoughtful and uneasy to his closet; and, after preaching in the fields, sat down and dined with them, and then took a final leave.†

Many waited at Edinburgh to know the issue of the conference, who were not disappointed in the event. Thither he returned, after preaching at Innerkeithing, and the Queen's-ferry; and continued preaching, always twice, often thrice, (and once, seven times a-day) for some weeks together. The churches were open, but not being able to hold half the congregations, he generally preached twice a-day in the Orphan-hospital park, to many thousands. Per-

* "I attended; but the good man so spent himself in the former part of his sermon, in talking against prelacy, the Common Prayer Book, the surplice, the rose in the hat, and such like externals, that, when he came to the latter part of his text, to invite poor sinners to Jesus Christ, his breath was so gone, that he could scarce be heard. What a pity, that the last was not first, and the first last!" Letter CCCXXXIX.

† "Having dropt something about persons building a Babel, Mistress ——— said, It was a hard saying. Upon which, I replied, I feared it was a true one, and that they would find the Babel fall down about their ears. I was never received into their house any more. Thus was I called to make another sacrifice of my affections. But what I had met with in England, made this the more easy." MS.

See also Letter CCCXLVII. to Mr. D. E. August 13, 1741; and to the Rev. Mr. R. E. August 24.

Preaches, with great success, in various parts of Scotland.

sons of the best fashion, as well as of the meaner rank, attended;* at some of their houses he generally expounded every evening. And every day, almost, there were new evidences of the success of his labours. Numbers of ministers† and students came to hear him, and aged experienced christians told him they could set their seal to what he preached.

In this first visit to Scotland, he preached at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, Paisley, Perth, Stirling, Crief, Falkirk, Airth, Kinglassie, Aberdeen, Culross, Kinross, Couper of Fife; and also at Stonehive, Benholm, Montrose, Brechin, Forfar, Couper of Angus; and at Innerkeithing, Newbottle, Galashields, Maxton, and Haddington; and in the west country, at Killern, Fintry, and Balfrone. To other places, to which he was invited, he did not go‡ at this time. But (having collected above five hundred pounds, in money and goods, for his orphans) he left Edinburgh in the latter end of October, to go through Wales, in his way to London.

* Among his particular friends were the Marquis of Lothian, the Earl of Leven, Lord Rae, Lady Mary Hamilton, Lady Frances Gardiner, Lady Jean Nimmo, Lady Dirleton. See his Letters from August to December, 1741.

† Particularly one Mr. Wilson, of Maxton. See Letter CCCXXXVIII.

‡ Among these was Cambuslang, and some places in the north of Scotland. See Letter CCCLIX. wherein he mentions an invitation from the ministers of the presbytery that meets at Dornock, in Sutherland.

CHAP. VIII.

Letters from Ministers and private Christians in Scotland, representing Mr. Whitefield's reception and success there, in the Year 1741.

His reception, ministrations, and success at the principal places in Scotland, will farther appear from the following letters.

At Edinburgh, one of the ministers of that city thus writes to him:—

"REV. AND DEAR SIR, *April* 20, 1742.*

"Knowing that many are careful to inform you, from time to time, what passes here, I have hitherto delayed answering your most acceptable letter, until I should tell you, with the greatest certainty, what were the blessed effects of your ministrations amongst us; and can now assure you, that they were not more surprising than lasting. I don't know, or hear of any wrought upon by your ministry, but are holding on in the paths of truth and righteousness. They seem possessed of a truly Christian spirit. Jesus is precious to their souls; and, like the morning light, they are advancing with increasing brightness to the perfect day. Since you left Scotland, numbers in different corners have been awakened. Many in a hopeful way. Religion in this sinful city revives and flourishes. Ordinances are more punctually attended on. People hear the word with gladness, and receive it in faith and love. New meetings for prayer and spiritual conference are erecting every where. Religious conversation has banished slander and calumny from several tea-

* Glasgow Weekly History, No. XXVII.

tables, and Christians are not ashamed to own their dear Lord and Master. Praise is perfected out of the mouths of babes and sucklings; and some stout-hearted sinners captivated to the obedience of Christ.

"I cannot easily express, with what pleasure I write these things; and, doubtless, they will give you no less joy in reading them. Should not these droppings of the dew of Heaven encourage our faith and hope of a plentiful effusion of the Spirit, which will at once change our barren wilderness into a fruitful field? Should not this hasten your return, that we may take sweet counsel together, and enter into the house of God in company? You are often on our hearts. We long to see you face to face. May much of your great master's presence ever attend, and come along with you."

Mr. George Muir, (afterwards the Rev. Doctor Muir, late minister of Paisley) thus wrote to James Aitken, school-master in Glasgow *:—

"*Edinburgh, August* 8, 1743.

"As you desire, I have, with the assistance of Mr. Archibald Bowie, Mr. Dun, and the Serjeant,† informed myself a little, with respect to the number and situations of the praying societies in this place, which you will take as follows: They are, as near as we can guess, between twenty-four and thirty in number, some of which will necessarily be obliged to divide, by reason of too many meeting together; and that will increase the number. Amongst them, are several meetings of boys and girls; who, in general, seem not only to be growing in grace, but really increasing in knowledge. The little lambs appear to be unwilling to rest upon duties, or any thing short of Christ; as a young gentleman of my acquaintance told me, when under a temptation to think, that he was surely seeking some imaginary refuge, instead of the Saviour, he was made to cry out

* Prince's Christian History, No. xxxiv. † See Letter ccccxxii.

in prayer, 'Lord, I want nothing else, and will have nothing short of the very Christ of God.' There are several meetings of young women, who, (although I never, as yet, visited any of them) I am informed, hold on very well. The Serjeant tells me, that at one of these meetings, on the morning of the Lord's day, he has known them all wet with floods of tears, melted down with love to Christ, and affection to one another for Christ's sake. I have myself been much ravished (when in a meeting in the room below, where some of these resort) to hear them sing the Lord's praises with such melodious voices. There are numbers of young men, who meet for the excellent purpose of glorifying God, and promoting Christian knowledge; amongst some of whom I have the honour to be a member. Many of them are divines, who are useful in instructing the weaker sort of us; and that they endeavour to do with the greatest anxiety and desire. A good number of old men, substantial, standing Christians, meet for their edification and instruction, (the glory of their God being always their chief end), and are thereby often revived, and very much refreshed. The generality of these sorts, above-mentioned, do walk very circumspectly, and really make it appear to the world, that they have been with Jesus; which is very much evidenced in their cheerfully bearing reproaches for Christ's sake. And, upon the whole, we hope there is such a flame kindled, as shall never be extinguished. And with respect to two particular societies, whereof Mr. Bowie is a member, he gave me the inclosed* in writing; which you will peruse and return.

* "*To Mr. Muir.*

"*Edinburgh, August* 6, 1743.

"As you desire a short account of the two societies I am concerned in, I shall give it in a very few words. They consist of twenty-five or twenty-six members each; and, except a very few, are all persons whose concern about religion, began in the late awakening. I never saw the ends of such societies answered near so well, as among these. I think, I may safely declare, that I was never witness to so much of real Christian exercise among any persons I have known, as I have observed, to my great

Observations on the good effects of the Societies.

This is not all; for several country people are beginning to assemble together in little meetings, to worship their God: particularly, the Serjeant informs me of one about two miles from this place, where several ploughmen, and other illiterate persons, meet for the most noble ends and purposes; and are going most sweetly on, much increased in grace and knowledge, and some are daily added to their number. I am informed from the east country, (where there have been no societies since the secession) that about Old Cambus, six miles from Dunbar, many are now meeting together for social prayer, and mutual conversation about matters of religion, wherein the Lord is with them of a truth. And, in that place, there is more eager thirsting for the word, than usual, and the ministers are learning to speak with new tongues. And one of my acquaintance, who was in this place last winter, has happily been the Lord's instrument in beginning these societies. How beautiful and refreshing is it, my dear friend, to hear of so many following after the despised Jesus? Should we not take it as a token for good, that young ones, instead of spending their spare hours in idle, vain, and unprofitable play, do now assemble, and join in calling upon the Lord. Is it not a good sign, to hear many poor foolish virgins (instead of being employed in the vanities of the generality of their sex) meeting together for prayer; and many prodigal youths, instead of revelling and drunkenness,

satisfaction, among most of them. It is most amazing to observe, how much some of them, who, at their first concern, were brutishly ignorant of every thing good, have now made such advances in knowledge, that they excel those who were formerly far before them. The concern about their own salvation is not only remarkable, but the abiding earnestness they show in their prayer, for the increase of the Redeemer's kingdom, is most desirable; and the care they show in watching over one another, is one convincing evidence of their brotherly love, and true Christian tenderness. I might say a great deal more, but must conclude.

" I am, &c. A. BOWIE."

There is also notice taken of some remarkable conversions, and of the reformation observed in the Edinburgh hospitals, in Numbers x. xi. xv. of Glasgow Weekly History.

chambering, and wantonness, now breathing after the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and him crucified? O that the Lord would more and more exert his almighty power amongst us. There are several other societies for prayer, near about this city, prospering very well."

The Rev. Mr. Mac Culloch, of Cambuslang, thus writes to Mr. Whitefield, a few months after his first visit to Glasgow:*—

"As it is matter of great joy and thankfulness to God, who sent you here, and gave you so much countenance, and so remarkably crowned your labours when here at Glasgow with success; so I doubt not but the following account, of the many seals to your ministry, in and about that city, will be very rejoicing to your heart, as our glorious Redeemer's kingdom is so much advanced, and the everlasting happiness of immortal souls promoted.

"I am well informed by some ministers, and other judicious and experienced Christians, that there are to the number of fifty persons already got notice of, in and about Glasgow, that by all that can be judged by persons of the best discerning in spiritual things, are savingly converted, by the blessing and power of God, accompanying your ten sermons in that place; besides several others under convictions, not reckoned in this number, whose state remains, as yet, a little doubtful. And, besides, several Christians, of considerable standing, who were much strengthened, revived, and comforted, by means of hearing your sermons; being made to rejoice in hope of the glory of God, having obtained the full assurance of faith.

"Among those lately converted, here are several young people who were formerly openly wicked and flagitious; or, at best, but very negligent as to spiritual concerns, but are now in the way of salvation. Some young converts are yet under

* Glasgow Weekly History, No. XIII.

doubts and fears; but a considerable number of them have attained to joy and peace in believing.

" Several lately wrought upon in a gracious way, seem to outstrip Christians of considerable standing, in spiritual mindedness, and many other good qualifications: and particularly, in their zeal for the conversion of others, and love to the ordinances, without a spirit of bigotry, or party zeal.

" These converts, by your ministry, are discovered from time to time; a good many are but lately got notice of, that were not known before; which was partly occasioned by their convictions not being so strong and pungent at the first, as they proved afterwards, partly by the discouragement they met with in the families where they resided, and partly by the reserved tempers of the persons themselves, and their bashfulness, because of their former negligencies and open enormities. These things give ground to hope, there may be more discovered afterwards, that are not yet known.

" Besides these awakened by the power of God accompanying your sermons, there are others awakened since, by means of the great visible change discovered in their former intimate acquaintance, that were then converted, when they saw the change so remarkable, and the effects so abiding.

" Young converts are exceeding active to promote the conversion of others, especially their relations and near concerns, by their exhortations, and letters to distant friends in the country; and there are some instances of the good effects of these endeavours.

" They have all a great love to one another, and all good christians, and a great sympathy with such of their number, as are under doubts and fears. Such of them as have not received comfort, by their earnest and deep concern, and close attendance on the means of grace, are hereby instrumental to excite Christians of older standing, to more diligence in religion.

" These, dear Brother, are a few hints of some of the most remarkable things, as to the success of your labours at Glasgow,

by the divine blessing. May a rich and powerful blessing, give a plentiful increase to them every where, where you come with the glad tidings of the great salvation."

At Aberdeen, one of the ministers of that city, thus writes of him, to a person of distinction:

"HONOURED SIR, *October* 3, 1741.*

"At your desire, I shall not refuse, (however much reason I may have for declining to offer my judgment, or opinion, in things of this nature) to acquaint you freely of what I think of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, or rather, what is the opinion of persons of more acquaintance with the good ways of God.

"He is, I believe, justly esteemed, by all who are personally acquainted with him, an eminent instrument of reviving, in these declining times, a just sense and concern for the great things of religion. We have, of late, been much employed, and a great noise has been made about the lesser matters of the law: and are now much broken in judgment about things, many of which, I must own, I do not understand.† The cry has been, and still continues, loud, 'Lo, here is Christ, and lo there.' And now the Lord has raised up his eminent instrument, from a quarter, whence we could not have expected it, to call us all to

* Glasgow Weekly History, No. XXVIII.

† Of those who differed from their brethren, as to their judgment about many things, was Mr. B——, one of the ministers of Aberdeen. After he had prayed and preached against Mr. Whitefield, in his hearing, and quoted some passages of his first printed sermons, as heterodox; Sermon being ended, Mr. Ogilvie gave notice, that Mr. Whitefield would preach in about half an hour. The interval being so short, the magistrates retired into the Session-house, and the congregation patiently waited, big with expectation (says Mr. Whitefield), of hearing my resentment. At the time appointed, I went up, and took no other notice of the good man's ill-timed zeal, than to observe, in some part of my discourse, that if the good old gentleman had seen some of my later writings, wherein I had corrected several of my former mistakes, he would not have expressed himself in such strong terms. The people being thus diverted from controversy with man, were deeply impressed with what they heard from the word of God." Letter CCCLXI.

His character by the Aberdeen Minister continued.

return to him; from whom, it is plain, we have deeply revolted. His being by education and profession of a different way, from what, I cannot but think, is most justly professed among us, seems to me, to add no small weight to his testimony; as does also his age. The Lord by this is, as it were, attracting our eyes and attention to one, who, had he been formerly of us, would, doubtless, like others, be despised. And yet, I cannot but look upon it as a sad instance of a departing God, that, instead of regard, he meets not only with contempt, but with opposition also, from those who ought to act a very different part. Did he preach another Jesus, or another doctrine, he ought justly to be rejected: but this is not the case. And yet this very thing is advanced as an argument against him: It is said, he advances nothing new; and I allow it. This gives his friends joy. But these reverend gentlemen should mind that there are two things in Gospel ordinances, purity and power. The first, in mercy, we still have in some good measure (though complaints of the want of this are very open); but the last, we sadly confess the want of, and this is what attends the Gospel dispensed by him. And sure I am, that even the credible report of it should much endear him to all, who wish well to the interest of our dear, though too unknown, and altogether lovely, Lord Jesus.

"His calmness and serenity, under all he meets with, yea, his joy in tribulation, is to me so surprising, that I often think, the Lord sent him to this place, in particular, to teach me how to preach, and especially how to suffer.

"His attachment to no party, but to Christ and true Grace alone, has long appeared to me a peculiar excellency in him. Christianity has been so long broken into so many different sects and parties, that an honest Pagan might justly be at a loss, was he among us, where to find the religion of Jesus.

"One now appears, who loudly calls us (and whose voice the Lord seems to back with power) to look into the original plan of that religion we profess: sure nothing more just, nothing

more reasonable. He tells us, wherein the Kingdom of God does consist. And yet how sad is it, he should be despised. Who knows but this may be the Lord's last voice to us, before he takes his kingdom from us?

"As to what you ask of his reception in this city: I invited him, nay, urged him, to undertake this journey, in consequence of a correspondence with him, for more than two or three years. I did it with the concurrence of a very few. His journey was delayed, till bad reports had embittered the minds of almost all against him: so that, when he came, I could scarce obtain liberty for him to preach, even in the fields. All that I could do was, what I had resolved long before; I gave him, with great pleasure, and full freedom, my pulpit, which, for that day, was in the church which our magistrates, and principal people of note, frequent. And, at once, the Lord, by his preaching, melted down the hearts of his enemies (except —— and ——); so that, contrary to our custom, he was allowed the same place and pulpit in the evening of that day, and the other church as often as he pleased.

"While he stayed among us in this city, he answered our expectations so much, that he has scarce more friends anywhere of its bulk, than here, where, at first, almost all were against him. And the word came also with so much power, that I hope several, of different denominations, will bless the Lord for evermore, that ever they heard him. And, in his way from us, I saw in part, and have heard more fully since, what satisfies, that this was of the Lord, and for the good of many.

"P.S. I suppose you have heard, that our magistrates waited on him while here, and made him free of this place; though that is a compliment rarely allowed to strangers, of late."

Mr. Willison, minister at Dundee, wrote as follows, to his friend at Edinburgh:—

Mr. Willison's opinion of Mr. Whitefield.

"HONOURED SIR, *October* 8, 1741.*

"I am favoured with yours, wherein you desire my thoughts of Mr. Whitefield, and an account of his labours and success with us. Although my sentiments may be little regarded by many, yet, when you put me to it, I think I am bound to do justice to the character of this stranger, which I see few willing to do. I am not much surprised, though the devil, and all he can influence, be up in arms against the youth, seeing he makes such bold and vigorous attacks upon his kingdom, and strong holds. As you, Sir, do observe it to be with you, so it is with us. He is hated, and spoken against, by all the episcopal party, and even the most of our clergy do labour to diminish and expose him: this is not to be much wondered at, seeing his incessant labours for Christ and souls, are such a strong reproof to them; besides what he says publicly, against the sending out of unconverted ministers, and their preaching an unknown Christ; this must be galling to carnal men. I look upon this youth, as raised up of God for special service, and spirited for making new and singular attempts, for promoting true christianity in the world, and for reviving it where it is decayed; and I see him wonderfully fitted and strengthened, both in body and mind, for going through with his projects, amidst the greatest discouragements and difficulties. I see the man to be all of a piece; his life and conversation to be a transcript of his sermons. It is truly a rare thing, to see so much of God about any one man. To see one so eminent for humility, in the midst of applause; for meekness and patience, under reproaches and injuries; for love to enemies; for desire to glorify Christ, and save souls; contentment in a mean lot; acquiescing in the will of God in all cases; never fretting under any dispensation, but still praising and giving thanks for every thing. It is rare to see, in a man, such a flaming fire for God and against sin, when in the pulpit;

* Glasgow Weekly History, No. XIII.

Continued.

and yet most easy and calm in conversing with men out of it; careful not to give offence to them, and yet never courting the favour of any. God has bestowed a large measure of gifts and graces upon him, for the work he is engaged in; and has made him a chosen vessel, to carry his name among the Gentiles, and to revive his work in several other churches. O that God may order his coming to poor Scotland, in such a cloudy time, for the same end! And who knows, but God might be entreated, if we could wrestle with him, notwithstanding all our provocations! Things appeared most unlikely, in other places, some while ago, where now Christ is riding in triumph, going forth conquering and to conquer. This worthy youth is singularly fitted to do the work of an evangelist; and I have been long of opinion, that it would be for the advantage of the world, were this still to be a standing office in the church. And seeing the Lord has stirred him up to venture his life, reputation, and his *all* for Christ; refuse the best benefices in his own country, and run all hazards by sea and land, and travel so many thousand miles, to proclaim the glory of Christ, and riches of his free-grace, of which he himself is a monument; and, especially, seeing God has honoured him to do all this with such surprising success, among sinners of all ranks and persuasions, and even many of the most notorious, in awakening and turning them to the Lord; I truly think we are also bound to honour him, and to esteem him highly, in love for his master's, and for his work's sake, according to 1 Thes. v. 13. And for those who vilify and oppose him, I wish they would even notice a Gamaliel's words, Acts v. 'Let him alone, lest haply ye be found to fight against God:'—or, rather, that they would regard the Apostle Peter's words, apologizing for his going in with the uncircumcised, Acts xi. when the Holy Ghost fell upon them; 'What was I that I could withstand God?' I have myself been witness to the Holy Ghost falling upon him and his hearers, oftener than once; I do not say in a miraculous, though in an observable, manner. Yea, I have already seen the desirable fruits thereof,

Concluded.

in not a few; and hope, through the divine blessing on the seed sown, to see more. Many here are blessing God, for sending him to this country, though Satan has raged much against it.

"The Lord is a sovereign agent, and may raise up the instruments of his glory, from what churches or places he pleases; and glorifies his grace the more, when he does it from those societies, whence and when it could be least expected. Though Mr. Whitefield be ordained, according to his education, a minister of the church of England; yet we are to regard him as one, whom God has raised up, to witness against the corruptions of that church: whom God is still enlightening, and causing to make advances towards us. He has already conformed to us, both in doctrine and worship, and lies open to light to conform to us in other points. He is thoroughly a Calvinist, and sound to the doctrines of Free Grace, in the doctrine of Original Sin, the New Birth, Justification by Christ, the necessity of imputed Righteousness, the operations of the Holy Ghost, &c. These he makes his great theme, drives the point home to the conscience, and God attends it with great power. And as God has enlightened him gradually in these things, so he is still ready to receive more light, and so soon as he gets it, he is most frank in declaring it.

"God, by owning him so wonderfully, is pleased to give a rebuke to our intemperate bigotry, and party-zeal; and to tell us, that neither circumcision, nor uncircumcision, availeth any thing, but the new creature."

"P.S. Many with us are for preferring ministers, according to the party they are of, but commend me to a pious, Christ-exalting, and soul-winning minister, whatever be his denomination. Such are ministers of Christ's sending, and of such he saith, 'He that receiveth you, receiveth me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth me;' which is a rule of duty to us."*

* The compiler received a transcript, from the diary of a very worthy christian in Edinburgh, in which are the following passages:—

Their evidence of his success in Scotland.

The four preceding letters shew the acceptableness and success of Mr. Whitefield's ministrations in most of the great towns in Scotland. As to smaller places,

---

"*Sabbati, August* 9, 1741.

"What is surprising, is, that numbers of all ranks, all denominations, and all characters, come constantly to hear him, though his sermons abound with those truths which would be unwelcome from the mouth of others. He is indefatigable in his work. Three hours before noon he appoints, for people under distress to converse with him, when he is much confined. Then he writes numbers of letters. And this week he is to add a morning lecture to his work. I have reason, among many others, for blessing God, for sending him to this place."

"*Sabbati, August* 30, 1741.

"Mr. W———d preached Monday morning and afternoon, Tuesday forenoon, in the Canongate church; evening, in the park, and gathered 25*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* for the poor Highlanders. Next day he went to Newbottle, and preached twice; on Thursday, to Whitburn; Friday morning, at Torphichen; Friday-evening, at Linlithgow; Saturday morning and afternoon, both at Falkirk; and this day he is at Airth. To-morrow he will preach twice at Stirling; Culross, Tuesday forenoon; Dunfermline, afternoon; Wednesday, twice at Kinross; Thursday, Perth; from Friday to Monday, at Dundee; Monday, Kinglassie; and come to Edinburgh on Tuesday. Blessed be God! He seldom preaches without some one or other laid under concern. Surely God has sent him to this place for good. The devil never raged more by his emissaries. It is remarkable, there never was a minister, no, nor any other man, against whom the mouths of the licentious have been more opened. Since he came, I have found myself more desirous to be watchful, lest my foot slip at any time, and to guard against many things, which before I thought indifferent."

"*Thursday, October* 29, 1741.

"Yesterday Mr. Whitefield left this place, to return to England. His departure was a great grief to many whom the Lord has mercifully awakened, under his ministry; the number of which, I believe, is very great. Mr. W——r alone, among about thirty young communicants, that came to converse with him, found about a dozen, who told him, They were first effectually touched under his ministry; and gave very good accounts of a work of God upon their souls. Some of the most abandoned wretches are brought to cry, 'What shall I do to be saved?' I have often had the opportunity of conversation with him, and, I think, I never heard him, or conversed with him, but I learned some good lesson. I do not remember to have heard one idle word drop from him, in all the times I have been

the following extract of a letter from the Rev. Mr. Thomas Davidson (his fellow-traveller) to the Rev. Mr. Henry Davidson, of Galashiels, will be an agreeable specimen :—

"*Culross, December* 3, 1741.

"Our journey to the North was as comfortable as any we had. In several places, as he came along, the Lord, I thought,

---

in company with him; and others, that have been much more with him, give him the same testimony. On Tuesday last, he preached and exhorted seven times. I heard him, to my great satisfaction, the fourth time, in the park. From that he went to the Old People's Hospital, to give them an exhortation; but, indeed, I never was witness to any thing of the kind before. All the congregation (for many followed him) were so moved, that very few, if any, could refrain from crying out. I am sure the Kingdom of God was then come nigh unto them, and that a woe will be unto them that slighted the offers of a Saviour then made to them. From that, he went to Heriot's Hospital, where a great change is wrought upon many of the boys; for there, as well as in the Maiden-hospitals, fellowship-meetings are set up, which is quite new there; for the boys of that hospital were noted for the wickedest boys about town. I was with him in a private house in the evening. When he came there he was quite worn out; however, he expounded there, which was the seventh discourse that day; and, what was very surprising, he was much fresher after he had done, than at the beginning."

"*November* 29, 1741.

"I had agreeable accounts of some of the children, who were wrought upon by the ministry of Mr. W————d. I heard this day, of a good many, that I heard not of formerly, who were not only laid under concern, but seemed to have a work of grace wrought upon their hearts, appearing by a most remarkable change in their conversation, and eager desires after farther degrees of knowledge of the Lord's ways, which leads them to attend every opportunity they can have for instruction.

"*Sabbati, December* 6, 1741.

"Since Mr. Whitefield's coming here, I find Christians freer in conversation than formerly; which is a great mercy both to themselves, and all about them; the experience of which I have had this past week, in several places where I have been. I had occasion to see a soldier, who was lately wrought upon by Mr. Whitefield's means. He seems to have come a great length in a little time, and gives a very judicious account of the Lord's dealings with his soul."

countenanced him in a very convincing manner, particularly at a place called Lundie, five miles north from Dundee, where there is a considerable number of serious christians, who, hearing that he was to come that way, spent most part of the night before in prayer together. Although his preaching there was only in a passing way, having to ride to Dundee after it, and it was betwixt three and four before he reached the place; yet he had but scarce well begun, before the power of God was, indeed, very discernible. Never did I see such a pleasing melting in a worshipping assembly. There was nothing violent in it, or like what we may call screwing up the passions; for it evidently appeared to be deep and hearty, and to proceed from a higher spring."

As a conclusion of this article, concerning Mr. Whitefield's first reception and ministrations in Scotland, the reader will not be displeased to see the following extract from the papers of a gentleman, deceased, who was eminent for learning, and knowledge of the world, and who had a general acquaintance with those who professed the greatest regard to religion.

"Messrs. Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine corresponded with him for two or three years, and invited him to Scotland. But, afterwards, reflecting that, if they held communion with an episcopal minister, because a good man and successful preacher, they could not vindicate their renouncing communion with such ministers in the church of Scotland, they wrote to him not to come. However, on the invitation of some ministers and people of the established church, he came, and preached his first sermon in Mr. Ralph Erskine's pulpit, at Dunfermline (a town ten or twelve miles from Edinburgh, on the other side of Forth). At a second visit to Dunfermline, he had a conference with all the seceding brethren, where he honestly avowed that he was a

member of the church of England, and, as he thought the government and worship of it lawful, was resolved, unless violently thrust out of it, to continue so, rebuking sin and preaching Christ; and told them he reckoned the Solemn League and Covenant a sinful oath, as too much narrowing the communion of saints, and that he could not see the divine right of Presbytery. On this they came to a Presbyterial resolution to have no more to do with him; and one of them preached a sermon, to show that one who held communion with the church of England, or backslidden church of Scotland, could not be an instrument of reformation. This, however, did not hinder multitudes, both of the Seceders and established church of Scotland from hearing his sermons. His soundness in the faith, his fervent zeal, and unwearied diligence, for promoting the cause of Christ; the plainness and simplicity, the affection and warmth, of his sermons; and the amazing power that had accompanied them in many parts of England, and in almost all the North American colonies, joined to his meekness, humility, and truly candid and catholic spirit, convinced them there was reason to think well of him, and to countenance his ministry. Conversions were become rare, little liveliness was to be found even in real Christians; and bigotry and blind zeal were producing animosities and divisions, and turning away the attention of good men from matters of infinitely greater importance. In this situation an animated preacher appears, singularly qualified to awaken the secure, to recover Christians to their first love, and first works, and to reconcile their affections one to another.

"The episcopal clergy gave him no countenance, though some few of their people did. And, in the established church of Scotland, some of the more rigid presbyterians would not hold communion with him, on account of his connection with the church of England, and his seeming to assume the office of an evangelist, peculiar, in their apprehension, to the first ages of the church: while some, who affected to be thought more sensible, or more modish and polite, were mightily dis-

satisfied with him, for preaching the Calvinist Doctrines of Election, Original Sin, Efficacious Grace, Justification through Faith, and the Perseverance of the Saints; and for inveighing against the play-house, dancing assemblies, games of chance, haunting taverns, vanity and extravagance in dress, and levity in behaviour and conversation.

"Some gentlemen and ladies who went to hear, would not go a second time, because he disturbed them, by insisting on man's miserable and dangerous state by nature, and the strictness and holiness essential to the Christian character. But, upon many of his hearers in Edinburgh, of all ranks and ages, especially young people, deep impressions were made, and many of them waited on him privately, lamenting their former immoral lives, or stupid thoughtlessness about religion, and expressing their anxious concern about obtaining an interest in Christ, and the sanctifying influences of the Spirit. In the greatest part of these, the impressions have appeared to be saving, from their circumspect exemplary conduct since that time, or from their comfortable, or triumphant death. Many Presbyterians begin to think more mildly and candidly than before, of the ministers and members of the church of England."*

* This year, 1741, he received the compliment of honorary burgess tickets from the towns of Stirling, Glasgow, Paisley, and Aberdeen; and, in 1742, from Irvine; and in 1762, from Edinburgh.

CHAP. IX.

From his leaving Edinburgh, 1741, to his Return to that City, in the Year 1742.

Mr. Whitefield, having left Edinburgh in the latter end of October, 1741, set out for Abergavenny, in Wales, where, having, some time ago, formed a resolution to enter into the married state, he married one Mrs. James,* a widow, between thirty and forty years of age; of whom, he says (Letter cccLxxvi.), "She has been a house-keeper many years; once gay, but, for three years last past, a despised follower of the Lamb of God." From Abergavenny he went to Bristol, where he preached twice a-day with his usual success. Upon returning to London in the beginning of December, he received letters from Georgia, concerning his orphan family, which, with respect to their external circumstances, were a little discouraging. On the other hand, he had most comfortable accounts of the fruits of his ministry in Scotland. This made him think of paying another visit there in the Spring. Meantime, he had the pleasure of seeing his labours attended with the divine blessing, at London and Bristol. And, from Gloucester, he thus writes:—

* Her maiden name was Elizabeth Burnell.

Establishes a general monthly meeting at Bristol.

"*December* 22, 1741.

"Last Thursday evening the Lord brought me hither. I preached immediately to our friends, in a large barn, and had my master's presence. On Friday and Saturday I preached again twice. Both the power and the congregation increased. On Sunday, Providence opened a door for my preaching in St. John's, one of the parish churches; great numbers came. On Sunday afternoon, after I had preached twice at Gloucester, I preached at Mr. F——'s, at the hill, six miles off; and, again at night, at Stroud. The people seemed to be more hungry than ever, and the Lord to be more amongst them. Yesterday morning I preached at Painswick, in the parish church; here, in the afternoon; and again at night, in the barn. God gives me unspeakable comfort, and uninterrupted joy. Here seems to be a new awakening, and a revival of the work of God. I find several country people were awakened, when I preached at Tewkesbury, and have heard of three or four that have died in the Lord. We shall never know what good field-preaching has done, till we come to judgment. Many, who were prejudiced against me, begin to be of another mind; and God shows me more and more, that when a man's ways please the Lord, he will make even his enemies be at peace with him. To-morrow morning I purpose to set out for Abergavenny, and to preach at Bristol, in Wilts, Gloucester, and Gloucestershire, before I see London."

In the latter end of December, he came to Bristol, where he continued near a month, preaching twice every day, and writing to his friends in London and Scotland. He also set up a general monthly meeting to read corresponding letters. From Bristol he returned to Gloucester; and, January 28, 1742, writes,* "On Friday last I left Bristol, having first settled

* Letter CCCLXXXIX.

Hears of assistance to his orphans in America.

affairs, almost as I could wish. At Kingswood, I administered the sacrament on Wednesday night; it was the Lord's passover. On Thursday we had a sweet love-feast; on Friday the Lord was with me twice at Tockington; on Saturday morning I broke up some fallow ground at Newport; and, in the evening, preached to many thousands at Stroud; on Monday morning, at Painswick; and ever since, twice a-day, here. Our congregations, I think, are larger than at Bristol. Every sermon is blessed."

On his way to London, February 23, he was still farther encouraged, by receiving letters from America, informing him of the remarkable success of the gospel there, and that God had stirred up some wealthy friends to assist his orphans in their late straits.* Upon his return to London, he went on with greater zeal and success, if possible, than ever. "Our Saviour" (says he, writing to a brother,† April 6, 1742), "is doing great things in London, daily. I rejoice to hear that you are helped in your work—let this encourage you: go on, go on—the more we do, the more we may do, for Jesus. I sleep and eat but little, and am constantly employed from morning till midnight, and yet my strength is daily renewed. O free grace! It fires my soul, and makes me long to do

* "The everlasting God reward all their benefactors. I find there has been a fresh awakening among them. I am informed, that twelve negroes, belonging to a planter lately converted at the Orphan-house, are savingly brought home to Jesus Christ." Letter cccxcviii.

† Letter cccclvii.

Ventures to preach in Moorfields in holiday time.

something for Jesus. It is true, indeed, I want to go home; but here are so many souls ready to perish for lack of knowledge, that I am willing to tarry below as long as my master has work for me."

From this principle of compassion to perishing souls, he now ventured to take a very extraordinary step. It had been the custom, for many years past, in the holiday seasons, to erect booths in Moorfields, for mountebanks, players, puppet-shows, &c. which were attended, from morning till night, by innumerable multitudes of the lower sort of people. He formed a resolution to preach the gospel among them; and executed it. On Whitmonday, at six o'clock in the morning, attended by a large congregation of praying people, he began. Thousands, who were waiting there, gaping for their usual diversions, all flocked round him. His text was, John iii. 14. "They gazed, they listened, they wept; and many seemed to be stung with deep conviction for their past sins." All was hushed and solemn. * "Being thus encouraged," (says he), "I ventured out again at noon, when the fields were quite full; and could scarce help smiling, to see thousands, when a merry-andrew was trumpeting to them, upon observing me mount a stand on the other side of the field, deserting him, till not so much as one was left behind, but all flocked to hear the gospel. But this, together with a complaint that they had taken near twenty or thirty pounds less that day than usual, so enraged the

* MS. and Letters cccccxi, cccccxii.

owners of the booths, that, when I came to preach a third time, in the evening, in the midst of the sermon, a merry-andrew got up upon a man's shoulders, and, advancing near the pulpit, attempted to slash me, with a long heavy whip, several times. Soon afterwards they got a recruiting serjeant, with his drum, &c. to pass through the congregation. But I desired the people to make way for the king's officer, which was quietly done. Finding these efforts to fail, a large body, quite on the opposite side, assembled together, and, having got a great pole for their standard, advanced with sound of drum, in a very threatening manner, till they came near the skirts of the congregation. Uncommon courage was given both to preacher and hearers. I prayed for support and deliverance, and was heard. For just as they approached us with looks full of resentment, I know not by what accident, they quarrelled among themselves, threw down their staff, and went their way, leaving, however, many of their company behind, who, before we had done, I trust, were brought over to join the besieged party. I think I continued in praying, preaching, and singing (for the noise was too great, at times, to preach) about three hours. We then retired to the Tabernacle, where thousands flocked—we were determined to pray down the booths; but blessed be God, more substantial work was done. At a moderate computation, I received (I believe) a thousand notes from persons under conviction; and soon after, upwards of three hundred were received into the society in one day. Some I married, that had lived

together without marriage; one man had exchanged his wife for another, and given fourteen shillings in exchange. Numbers, that seemed, as it were, to have been bred up for Tyburn, were, at that time, plucked as firebrands out of the burning.

"I cannot help adding, that several little boys and girls, who were fond of sitting round me on the pulpit, while I preached, and handing to me people's notes, though they were often pelted with eggs, dirt, &c. thrown at me, never once gave way; but, on the contrary, every time I was struck, turned up their little weeping eyes, and seemed to wish they could receive the blows for me. God make them, in their growing years, great and living martyrs for him, who, out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, perfects praise."

CHAP. X.

From his Arrival in Scotland, 1742, to his Return to London, the same Year.

Soon after this, he embarked a second time for Scotland, and arrived at Leith, June 3, 1742.*

But here it is proper to take a view of the state of things in that country, upon his arrival. It had pleased God to bless his first visit to Scotland, not only for the conversion of particular persons, and the comfort and quickening of private Christians, but to rouse them to more than ordinary concern about the

* "*Edinburgh, Sabbath, June* 6, 1742.

"On Thursday last our dear friend, Mr. Whitefield, returned to this place, to the great comfort of many honest Christians, especially of those to whom he was made a mean of conviction and conversion when last here. He seems to have improved much in Christian knowledge. He is much refreshed with the accounts of the work of God in the west country. I have heard him preach five excellent discourses, all calculated for the building up of Christians (though he never fails to put in a word for the conviction of sinners); and, I think, can say, that I have never heard him without some influence attending his preaching, especially in private houses. O may the impressions made on my heart never wear off, lest at any time I should be in danger of dropping my watch, and becoming untender."

"*Sabb. October* 17, 1742.

"It is a great recommendation of Mr. Whitefield to me, that though the Seceders give him every bad character that can be devised, viz. a sorcerer, &c. yet he takes all patiently, and wherever he goes, speaks well of them, so far as he can; for none can approve of those gross parts of their conduct: therefore these he chooses to cast a mantle of love over." Diary, formerly quoted.

The people at Cambuslang brought under a deep sense of religion.

salvation of their neighbours, and to excite pious and conscientious ministers to greater diligence in their work. Prayers were put up, with some degree of faith and hope, that God would now give success to their labours, and not suffer them always to complain that they spent their strength in vain. Nor were these prayers long unanswered: for, in the month of February, 1742, an extraordinary religious concern began to appear publicly at Cambuslang; and, soon after, at Kilsyt, and other places; the news of which quickly spread through the land, and engaged general attention. Of this a just, though short, description is given in the following letter, written by the Rev. Mr. Hamilton (then minister in the Barony parish, now in the High church of Glasgow) to Mr. Prince, minister in Boston.*

"*Glasgow, Sept.* 13, 1742.

"We, in the south and west of Scotland, have great reason to join in thankfulness to God, with you, for the days of the Redeemer's power that we are favoured with. Mr. Whitefield came to Scotland in the summer of 1741, for the first time: and, in many places, where he preached, his ministrations were evidently blessed, particularly in the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, where a considerable number of persons were brought under such impressions of religion, as have never yet left them; but they are still following on to know the Lord. However, this was only the beginning of far greater things: for, about the middle of February last, a very great concern appeared among the people of Cambuslang, a small parish, lying four miles south-east of Glasgow, under the pastoral inspection of the Rev. Mr. William Mac-Culloch, a man of considerable parts and great

* Prince's Christian History, No. X.

piety. This concern appeared with some circumstances very unusual among us: to wit, severe bodily agonies, out-cryings, and faintings in the congregation. This made the report of it spread like fire, and drew vast multitudes of people, from all quarters, to that place. And, I believe, in less than two months after the commencement of it, there were few parishes, within twelve miles of Cambuslang, but had some, more or fewer, awakened there, to a very deep, piercing sense of sin: and many at a much greater distance. I am verily persuaded with your worthy brother, Mr. Cooper, in his preface to Mr. Edwards's sermon, that God has made use of these uncommon circumstances, to make his work spread the faster. But, blessed be God, Cambuslang is not the only place where these impressions are got; the same work is spreading in other parishes, and under their own ministers, particularly at Calder, Kilsyth, and Cumbernaud, all to the north, and north-east of Glasgow. And, I doubt not, that since the middle of February, when this work began at Cambuslang, there were upwards of two thousand persons awakened, and almost all of them, by the best accounts I have, in a promising condition: there being very few instances of impostors, or such as have lost their impressions; and many, whom we are bound to think, are true Scripture-converts, and evidencing it by a suitable walk and conversation. There is evidently a greater seriousness and concern about religion appearing in most of our congregations, than formerly: a greater desire after the word; people applying themselves more closely to their duty; and erecting new societies for prayer and spiritual conference; which gives us the joyful prospect of a considerable enlargement of the Messiah's kingdom.

"My parish has likewise had some share in this good work. There have been above an hundred new communicants among them, this summer, who never did partake of the blessed sacrament before; which is five times as many as ever I admitted in any former year: most of them were awakened at Cambuslang; some of them in their own church; and in others the

impressions have been more gradual, and not attended with those uncommon circumstances before-mentioned. And, it is to be observed, that, before we admit any person to the Lord's table, we particularly examine them, and are satisfied with their knowledge of the principles of religion, of the nature and ends of the sacrament, and the impressions of religion they have on their minds."*

To the same purport is the Rev. Mr. Willison's letter to Dr. Colman, minister in Boston: dated

"*Dundee, Feb.* 28, 1743.†

"I must inform you a little of the work of God begun here. I told you, in my last, that, after Mr. Whitefield's first coming and preaching three months in Scotland, there were some beginnings of a revival of religion in some of our principal cities, as Edinburgh and Glasgow, which still continue and increase, especially since Mr. Whitefield's second coming in June last. But, besides these cities, the Lord hath been pleased to begin a work much like that in New England, in several places in the west of Scotland. The first parish awakened was Cambuslang; the next was the parish of Kilsyth, about nine miles north-east of Glasgow; and, afterwards, the parishes of Calder, Kirkintilloch, Cumbernaud, Campfie, Kilmarnock, Gargunnock, and a great many others in the country. The awakenings of people have been, in a good many, attended with out-cryings, faintings,

* Extract of a letter from a person of distinction, to the compiler:—

"*Edinburgh, February,* 1772.

"I would not ascribe all the revival of religion in Scotland, to (the instrumentality of) Mr. Whitefield. At Cambuslang, it began before he had been there; but, in Edinburgh, and all the other places in Scotland, that I heard of, after diligent inquiry, it began with his first visit. This honour he had from his divine Master, and it ought not to be taken from him. And every time he came to Scotland, it is an undoubted fact, that an uncommon power attended his ministry: and many were always brought under serious and lasting impressions."

† Prince's Christian History, No. XI.

and bodily distresses: but, in many more, the work has proceeded with great calmness. But, the effects in both sorts are alike good and desirable; and, hitherto, we hear nothing of their falling back from what they have professed at the beginning: and still we hear of some new parishes falling under great concern here and there, though the great cryings and outward distresses are much ceased.

"The Lord, in this backsliding time, is willing to pity us, and see our ways, and heal them, however crooked and perverse they have been. O shall not this wonderful step of divine condescension lead us all to repentance, and to go out to meet a returning God, in the way of humiliation and reformation. The magistrates and ministers in Edinburgh are beginning to set up societies for reformation of manners, and new lectures on week-days. May all our cities follow their example. There is a great increase of praying societies also in Edinburgh and other towns and villages; and in them they are keeping days of thanksgiving for the partial waterings the Lord is giving us. Those in Edinburgh send printed memorials to others through the nation, to excite them to it."*

The greatest strangers to religion could not avoid hearing of these things, but they were very differently affected with them. Whilst some became more thoughtful and serious, many mocked, and some were even filled with rage. On the other hand, the temper and behaviour of those who were the subjects

* The Rev. Mr. Macknight, of Irvine, thus writes to Mr. Whitefield:—

"*June* 21, 1742.

"Blessed be our glorious God, there are some awakenings amongst us at Irvine; not only of those who have been at Cambuslang, but several others are lately brought into great concern about their eternal state; and, among them, several children; the news of which, I know, will rejoice you, and, I hope, will encourage you to visit us, to help forward this great and glorious work, of converting sinners."—*Remarkable Particulars, &c.*

of this remarkable work, was the strongest of all arguments that it came from above. Their earnest desire to be rightly directed in the way to heaven; their tender and conscientious walk; their faithfulness in the duties of their stations; their readiness to make ample restitution for any act of injustice they had formerly committed; their disposition to judge mildly of others, but severely of themselves; their laying aside quarrels and law-suits, and desiring to be reconciled, and to live peaceably with all men; such amiable and heavenly qualities, especially when appearing in some, who had formerly been of a very opposite character, could not fail to strike every serious observer. In short, it was such a time for the revival of religion, as had never before been seen in Scotland.*

The enmity which wicked and profane men discovered against this work, and the derision with which they treated it, is no more than what might naturally be expected. But it is not so easy to account for the conduct of the Seceders. These, not satisfied with forbearing to approve of it, went the length even to appoint a general Fast among them, one of the grounds of which was, the receiving Mr. Whitefield into Scotland; and another, the delusion, as they called it, at

* Particulars may be found in the attested narrative of the Work at Cambuslang; Dr. Webster's Divine Influence the true Spring, &c.; and in Mr. Robe's Narratives and Monthly History. A view of the most memorable passages is given in Vol. II. Book IV. Chap VI. of Hist. Coll. relating to the Success of the Gospel, printed in 1754; where is also some account of the abiding fruits of these religious impressions.

Cambuslang, and other places. And Mr. Gibb, one of their ministers, wrote a pamphlet, inveighing against both, in the most virulent language. Such was the bigotry and misguided zeal of the bulk of the party at that time. It is hoped their successors have juster views of this matter. But it is not proper here to enlarge upon this subject.* With respect to Mr. Whitefield, the spring of their first opposition to him, sufficiently appears from his conversation with them at Dunfermline, formerly mentioned. And the following letter, which he wrote at Cambuslang, August, 1742, and which was afterwards printed at Glasgow, gives an account of their objections, and his answers, which are perfectly agreeable to the spirit of both :—†

"I heartily thank you for your concern about unworthy me. Though I am not very solicitous what the world say of me, yet I would not refuse to give any one, much less a minister of Jesus Christ (and such a one I take you to be), all reasonable satisfaction about any part of my doctrine, or conduct. I am sorry that the Associate Presbytery, besides the other things exceptionable in the grounds of their late Fast, have done me much wrong. As to what they say about the supremacy, my senti-

* The reader, who wants to see the objections against the work at Cambuslang, &c. fully refuted, may consult (besides the books mentioned in the last note) Mr. Robe's Letters to Mr. Fisher; and Mr. Jonathan Edwards's Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God."—And, as to the argument from the goodness of the fruits, which is level to the capacities of all, the compiler thinks it his duty to add, that, among his acquaintance, who were the subjects of that work, the fruits were, generally, both *good* and *lasting*.

† Glasgow Weekly Hist. No. XXIII.

Continued.

ments, as to the power and authority of the civil magistrate, as to sacred things, agree with what is said in the Westminster Confession of Faith, chap. xxiii. paragraph 3 and 4. And I do own the Lord Jesus to be the blessed Head and King of his church.

"The Solemn League and Covenant I never abjured, neither was it ever proposed to me to be abjured: and, as for my Missives, if the Associate presbytery will be pleased to print them, the world will see that they had no reason to expect I would act in any other manner than I have done. What that part of my experience is, that savours of the grossest enthusiasm, I know not, because not specified; but this one thing I know, when I conversed with them, they were satisfied with the account I then gave of my experiences, and also of the validity of my mission; only, when they found I would preach the gospel promiscuously to all, and for every minister that would invite me, and not adhere only to them; one of them, particularly, said, 'They were satisfied with all the other accounts which I gave of myself, except of my call to Scotland at that time.' They would have been glad of my help, and have received me as a minister of Jesus Christ, had I consented to have preached only at the invitation of them and their people. But I judged that to be contrary to the dictates of my conscience; and, therefore, I could not comply. I thought their foundation was too narrow for any high house to be built upon. I declared freely, when last in Scotland (and am more and more convinced of it since), that they were building a Babel.* At the same time,

* The event verified this conjecture. In his MS. notes, several years after, he makes the following remark:—"Such a work (the religious concern at Cambuslang), so very extensive, must meet with great opposition. My collections for the orphans gave a great handle; but the chief opposition was made by the Seceders, who, though they had prayed for me at a most extravagant rate, now gave out that I was agitated by the devil. Taking it for granted, that all converted persons must take the covenant, and that God had left the Scotch established churches long ago, and that he would never work by the hands of a curate of the church of England.

Continued.

they knew very well, I was very far from being against all church government, (for how can any church subsist without it?) I only urged, as I do now, that, since holy men differ so much about the outward form, we should bear with, and forbear one another, though, in this respect, we are not of one mind. I have often declared, in the most public manner, that I believe the church of Scotland to be the best constituted national church in the world. At the same time I would bear with, and converse freely with all others, who do not err in fundamentals, and who give evidence that they are true lovers of the Lord Jesus. This is what I mean by a catholic spirit. Not that I believe a Jew or Pagan continuing such, can be a true Christian, or have true Christianity in them; and if there be any thing tending that way in the late extract which I sent you, I utterly disavow it. And I am sure, I observed no such thing in it, when I published it, though, upon a closer review, some expressions seem justly exceptionable. You know how strongly I assert all the doctrines of grace, as held forth in the Westminster Confession of Faith, and doctrinal articles of the church of England. These, I trust, I shall adhere to, as long as I live, because I verily believe they are the truths of God, and have felt the power of them in my own heart. I am only concerned that good men should be guilty of such misrepresentations. But this teaches me more and more to exercise compassion toward all the children of God, and that we should be more jealous over our own hearts, knowing what fallible creatures we all are. I acknowledge that I am a poor blind sinner, liable to err, and would be obliged to an enemy, much more

they condemned the whole work, as the work of the devil; and kept a Fast through all Scotland, to humble themselves, because the devil was come down in great wrath, and to pray that the Lord would rebuke the destroyer (for that was my title). But the Lord rebuked these good men; for they split among themselves, and excommunicated one another. Having, afterwards, a short interview with Mr. Ralph Erskine, we embraced each other, and he said, "We had seen strange things."

to so dear a friend as you are, to point out to me my mistakes, as to my practice, or unguarded expressions in my preaching or writing. At the same time, I would humble myself before my Master, for any thing I may say or do amiss, and beg the influence and assistances of his blessed Spirit, that I may say and do so no more."

So much for Mr. Whitefield's difference with the Seceders. But, notwithstanding all this, upon his second arrival in Scotland, June 1742, he was received by great numbers, among whom were some persons of distinction, with much joy: and had the satisfaction of seeing and hearing more and more of the happy fruits of his ministry.* At Edinburgh he preached twice a-day, as usual, in the Hospital-park, where a number of seats and shades, in the form of an amphitheatre, were erected for the accommodation of his hearers. And, in consequence of earnest invitations, he went to the west country, particularly to Cambuslang, where he preached no less than three times upon the very day of his arrival, to a vast body of people, although he had preached that same morning at Glasgow. The last of these exercises he began

* "*Edinburgh, June* 4, 1742.

"This morning I received glorious accounts of the carrying on of the Mediator's kingdom. Three of the little boys that were converted when I was last here, came to me and wept, and begged me to pray for and with them. A minister tells me, that scarce one is fallen back, who was awakened, either among old or young. The serjeant, whose letter brother C—— has, goes on well with his company." Letter ccccxxii.

And in the MS. "Societies, (or fellowship meetings) I found set up for prayer, especially at Glasgow and Edinburgh. Several young gentlemen dedicated themselves to the ministry, and became burning and shining lights."

at nine at night, continuing till eleven, when he said he observed such a commotion among the people, as he had never seen in America. Mr. Mac Culloch preached after him, till past one in the morning, and even then could hardly persuade the people to depart. All night in the fields might be heard the voice of prayer and praise. As Mr. Whitefield was frequently at Cambuslang during this season, a description of what he observed there at different times, will be best given in his own words;* "Persons from all parts flocked to see, and many, from many parts, went home convinced and converted unto God. A brae, or hill, near the manse at Cambuslang, seemed to be formed by Providence, for containing a large congregation. People sat unwearied till two in the morning, to hear sermons, disregarding the weather. You could scarce walk a yard, but you must tread upon some, either rejoicing in God for mercies received, or crying out for more.—Thousands and thousands have I seen, before it was possible to catch it by sympathy, melted down under the word and power of God. At the celebration of the holy communion, their joy was so great, that, at the desire of many, both ministers and people, in imitation of Hezekiah's passover, they had, a month or two afterwards, a second; which was a general rendezvous of the people of God. The communion-table was in the field; three tents, at proper distances, all surrounded with a multitude of hearers; above twenty ministers (among whom was good old Mr.

* MS.

Bonner) attending to preach and assist, all enlivening and enlivened by one another."

Besides his labours at Glasgow and Cambuslang, it is somewhat surprising to think, how many other places in the west of Scotland he visited within the compass of a few weeks, preaching once or twice at every one of them, and, at several, three or four times. It is worth while to set down the Journal* of a week or two.—In the beginning of July, he preached twice on Monday at Paisley; on the Tuesday and Wednesday, three times each day, at Irvine; on Thursday, twice, at Mearns; on Friday, three times at Cumbernaud; and, on Saturday, twice at Falkirk. And again in the latter end of August;† on Thursday, he preached twice at Greenock; on Friday, three times, at Kilbride; on Saturday, once at Kilbride, and twice at Stevenson; on Sabbath, four times at Irvine; on Monday, once at Irvine, and three times at Kilmarnock;‡ on Tuesday, once at

* Letter ccccxxvi. † Letter ccccxlix.

‡ A gentleman of an irreproachable character, thus wrote to the compiler, April 8, 1771, "When Mr. Whitefield was preaching at Kilmarnock, on the 23d of August, 1742, from these words —'And out of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace,' I thought I never heard such a sermon on the fulness of grace that is treasured up in Christ Jesus: and can truly say, that I felt the efficacy of the holy Spirit upon my soul, during that discourse. I afterwards shut up myself in my chamber, during the remaining part of that day; and, before I laid myself down to rest, I made a solemn and serious dedication of myself to God, by way of covenant, extended and subscribed the same with my hands; and, I think, had communion with God in so doing, to which I have often had recourse since, in adhering thereto, and in renewing thereof; though my life since has been attended with many backslidings from God, and I have been per-

Subject to severe fits of illness.

Kilmarnock,* and four times at Stewarton; on Wednesday, once at Stewarton, and twice at the Mearns. He was also at Inchannen, New Kilpatrick, Calder, and Kilsyth (where the religious concern still increased), and at Torphichen. He was indeed sometimes taken very ill, and his friends thought he was going off; "But in the pulpit (says he) the Lord out of weakness, makes me to wax strong, and causes me to triumph more and more†." And even when he retired for a day or two, it was on purpose to write letters, and to prepare pieces for the press, so that he was as busy as ever‡.

fidious in his covenant; yet I still rejoice in his salvation through Christ. And it is refreshing to behold the place at this very day, as I have often done since. I, from the æra above-mentioned, always looked upon Mr. Whitefield as my spiritual father, and frequently heard him afterwards in Edinburgh and Glasgow with much satisfaction. It always gave me joy, the mentioning of his name, and grieved me when he was reproached. And I can very well remember, that when Cape Breton was taken, I happened to be then at Edinburgh; and being invited to breakfast with Mr. Whitefield, I never in all my life enjoyed such another breakfast. He gave the company a fine and lively descant upon that part of the world, made us all join in a hymn of praise and thanksgiving, and concluded with a most devout and fervent prayer. In the evening of that day, he preached a most excellent thanksgiving sermon, from the first two verses of CXXVIth psalm."

* "I never preached with so much apparent success before. At Greenock, Irvine, Kilbride, Kilmarnock, and Stewarton, the concern was great: at the three last very extraordinary." Letter CCCCXLIX.

† Letter CCCCXXXV.

‡ Particularly, A Vindication of the work of God in New England. See Works, Vol. IV. and several Letters about the affairs of the Orphan-house, some of his friends there having met with harsh treatment from the magistrates of Savannah. See Letter CCCCXXXIX, to Mr. B—, and Letter CCCCXL, to the Trustees for

When he was at Edinburgh, he received accounts that the Spaniards had landed in Georgia. Upon this occasion he wrote to Mr. Habersham*, "I am glad my dear family is removed to Mr. Bryan's, and rejoice that our glorious God had raised him and his brother up, to be such friends in time of need. My thoughts have been variously exercised, but my heart kept stedfast and joyful in the Lord of all Lords, whose mercy endureth for ever. I long to be with you, and methinks could willingly be found at the head of you, kneeling and praying, though a Spaniard's sword should be put to my throat. But alas, I know not how I should behave, if put to the trial, only we have a promise, that as our day is, so our strength shall be. The thoughts of divine love carry me above every thing. My dear friend, the Spaniards cannot rob us of this, nor can men nor devils. I humbly hope that I shall shortly hear of the spiritual and temporal welfare of you all." And he was not disappointed; for, a few weeks after, he was informed of his family's safe return to Bethesda†.

About the end of October he left Scotland, and rode post to London, where he arrived in about five days.

Georgia, and Letters CCCCXLI, CCCCXLIII, to General Oglethorpe, and to Thomas J—, Esq. in Georgia.

At this time also he published at Edinburgh, a continuation of the account of the Orphan-house, from January 1741, to June 1742.—See his Works, Vol. III. where you have the whole account continued from time to time, till April, 1770.

* Letter CCCCLVII.

† The manner in which the Spaniards were repulsed, with remarks upon the kindness of Providence to the colony, may be seen in an extract of General Oglethorpe's proclamation for a thanksgiving, in Letter DII.

CHAP. XI.

From his Arrival in London, in the Year 1742, *to his embarking for America,* 1744.

On Mr. Whitefield's arrival in London, he found a new awakening at the Tabernacle, which they had been obliged to enlarge; where, as he observes, "from morning till midnight,* I am employed; and, glory be to rich grace, I am carried through the duties of each day with cheerfulness, and almost uninterrupted tranquillity. Our society is large, but in good order. My Master gives us much of his gracious presence, both in our public and private administrations."

In the month of March 1743, he went into Gloucestershire, where the people seemed more desirous to hear than ever. "Preaching" says he, "in Gloucestershire,† is now like preaching at the Tabernacle in London." And again, (in a letter dated April 7)‡ "I preached and took leave of the Gloucester people, with mutual and great concern, on Sunday evening last. It was past one in the morning before I could lay my weary body down. At five I rose again, sick for want of rest; but I was enabled to get on horseback, and ride to Mr. F——'s, where I preached to a large congregation,

* Letter cccclxci. † Letter div. ‡ Letter dvi.

who came there at seven in the morning. At ten, I read prayers and preached, and afterward administered the sacrament in Stonehouse-church. Then I rode to Stroud, and preached to about 12,000, in Mrs. G——'s field; and, about six in the evening, to a like number in Hampton-common. After this, went to Hampton, and held a general love-feast with the United Societies, and went to bed about midnight, very cheerful and very happy." Next morning he preached near Dursley to some thousands; about seven reached Bristol, and preached to a full congregation at Smith's-hall: and on Tuesday morning, after preaching again, set out for Waterford in South Wales, where he opened the association which he and his brethren had agreed upon, and was several days with them, settling the affairs of the societies. He continued in Wales some weeks, and preached with great apparent success at Cardiff, Lantrissant, Neath, Swansey, Harbrook, Llanelthy, Carmarthen,* Larn, Narbatt, Newton, Jefferson, Llassivran, Kidwilly, Llangathan, Landovery, Brecon, Trevecka, Guenfethen, Builth, and the Gore;† and, in the latter

* "It was the Great Sessions. The Justices desired I would stay till they rose, and they would come. Accordingly they did, and many thousands more; and several people of quality." Letter ccccix.

† "The work began by Mr. Jones, spread itself far and near, in South and North Wales, where the Lord had made Mr. Howel Harris an instrument of converting several clergy as well as laymen. Last year I visited several places, but now I went to more, and in every place found, that not one-half had been told me. The power of God at the sacrament, under the ministry of Mr. Rowland, was enough to make a person's heart burn within him.

Discharges all his Orphan-house debts due in England.

end of April, returned to Gloucester, after having, in about three weeks,*, travelled about 400 English miles, spent three days in attending associations,† and preached about forty times.

In May he went back to London, "once more," as he expresses it, "to attack the prince of darkness in Moorfields," in the time of the holidays. —The congregations were amazingly great, and much affected. And, by the contributions which were now and formerly made for his orphans, he had the satisfaction of paying all that was due in England, and of making a small remittance to Mr. Habersham.‡

About the middle of June, he made another excursion, and preached at Fairford, Glanfield, Burford, Bengeworth, and Gloucester; also at Bristol and

At seven of the morning have I seen, perhaps, ten thousand from different parts, in the midst of sermon, crying, Gogunniant—bendyitti—ready to leap for joy. Associations were now formed, and monthly or quarterly meetings appointed, and a closer connection established between the English and Welsh, so that several came over to assist." MS.

* Letter DXIV.

† At one of these associations, a motion was made to separate from the established Church: but (says Mr. Whitefield, Letter DXXXIII) "by far the greater part strenuously opposed it, and with good reason: for, as we enjoy such great liberty under the mild and gentle government of his present Majesty King George, I think we can do him, our country, and the cause of God, more service, in ranging up and down, preaching repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, to those multitudes who would neither come into church or meeting, but who are led by curiosity to follow us into the fields. This is a way, to which God has affixed his seal for many years past."

‡ Letter DXIX.

Kingswood, and at Brinkworth, Tetherton, and Hampton. At Bristol, he continued some time, preaching statedly every day twice, and four times on the Sunday. Afterwards he preached at Exeter to very large congregations, where many of the clergy attended.

In August he returned to London, but made no long stay there. "I thank you," says he, to a correspondent,* "for your kind caution to spare myself; but evangelizing is certainly my province. Every-where effectual doors are opened. So far from thinking of nestling at London, I am more and more convinced that I should go from place to place."

Accordingly, we find him, in the months of October, November, and December, preaching and travelling through the country, as if it had been the middle of Summer. At Avon in Wilts, Tetherton, Clack, Brinkworth, Chippenham, Wellington, Cullompton, Exeter, Axminster, Ottery, Biddeford,† St. Gennis‡

* Letter DXL.

† "Here is a clergyman about eighty years of age, but not above one year old in the school of Christ. He lately preached three times, and rode forty miles the same day. A young Oxonian, who came with him, and many others, were deeply affected. I cannot well describe with what power the word was attended. Dear Mr. Hervey, one of our first Methodists at Oxford, and who was lately a curate here, had laid the foundation." Letter DXL.

‡ "Many prayers were put up by the worthy rector, and others, for an out-pouring of God's blessed Spirit. They were answered. Arrows of conviction flew so thick, and so fast, and such an universal weeping prevailed from one end of the congregation to the other, that good Mr. J——, their minister, could not help going from seat to seat, to speak, encourage, and comfort, the wounded souls." Letter DXLI.

in Cornwall, Birmingham,* Kidderminster,† and Bromsgrove. Nor did he feel his health much impaired, though it was so late in the season. He observes, indeed, (Letter DXLII) that he had got a cold; but adds, "The Lord warms my heart."

February, 1744, an event happened to him, which, amidst all his success, tended to keep him humble, and served to cure him of a weakness, to which he had been liable, the trusting to groundless impressions. It was the death of his only child, concerning whom he was so impressed, that he made no scruple of declaring before the birth, that the child would be a son, and that he hoped he would live to preach the gospel. Several narrow escapes which Mrs. Whitefield had during her pregnancy confirmed him in his expectations; which were so high, that, after he had publicly baptized the child at the Tabernacle, all went away big with hopes of his being spared to be employed in the work of God. But these fond expectations were soon blasted by the child's death, when he was about four months old. This was, no doubt, very humbling to the father; but he was helped to make the wisest and best improvement of it. "Though I am disappointed," says he, (writing to his friend)‡ "of a living preacher

* "It is near eleven at night, and nature calls for rest. I have preached five times this day; and, weak as I am, through Christ strengthening me, I could preach five times more." Letter DXLIII.

† "I was kindly received by Mr. Williams. Many friends were at his house. I was greatly refreshed to find what a sweet savour of good Mr. Baxter's doctrine, works, and discipline, remained to this day." Letter DXLIV.

‡ Letter DXLVII.

by the death of my son; yet, I hope, what happened before his birth, and since at his death, have taught me such lessons, as, if duly improved, may render his mistaken parent more cautious, more sober-minded, more experienced in Satan's devices, and, consequently, more useful in his future labours to the church of God."

March 3, he attended the assizes at Gloucester. The occasion was, in the summer, 1743, the Methodists had been persecuted and abused by the mob, particularly at Hampton, where several were hurt, and the life of their preachers threatened. Mr. Whitefield having tried other methods in vain, resolved, with the advice and assistance of his brethren, to seek the protection of law: and, accordingly, got an information lodged against the Hampton rioters, in the court of King's Bench. Facts being proved by a variety of evidence, and the defendants making no reply, the rule was made absolute, and an information filed against them. To this they pleaded *Not Guilty*, and, therefore, the cause was referred, in course, to the assizes in Gloucester. There he attended, and got the better of his adversaries: after a full hearing on both sides, a verdict was given for the prosecutors, and all the defendants were brought in guilty of the whole information lodged against them. This prosecution had a very good effect. The rioters were greatly alarmed at the thoughts of having an execution issued out against them. But the intention of the Methodists was, to

let them see what they could do, and then to forgive them.*

Some time before this, several anonymous papers, entitled, "Observations upon the Conduct and Behaviour of a certain Sect, usually distinguished by the Name of Methodists," had been printed, and handed about in the religious societies of London and Westminster, and given to many private persons, with strict injunctions to part with them to no one. Mr. Whitefield having accidentally had the hasty perusal of them; and, finding many queries concerning him and his conduct contained in them, and having applied for a copy, which was refused him, he thought it his duty to publish an advertisement, desiring (as he knew not how soon he might embark for Georgia) a speedy, open publication of the said papers, that he might make a candid and impartial answer. He had reason to believe the bishop of London was concerned in composing or revising them: but, that he might not be mistaken, after the publication of the advertisement, he wrote the bishop a letter, wherein he desired to know, whether his lordship was the author or not; and also desired a copy. The bishop sent word, "He should hear from him." Some time after, one Mr. Owen, printer to the bishop, left a letter for Mr. Whitefield, informing him that he had orders from several of the bishops, to print the Observations, &c. with some few addi-

* Letter DXLIX, DL. See Appendix for an account of this trial.

tions, for their use; and, when the impression was finished, Mr. Whitefield should have a copy. For these reasons, Mr. Whitefield thought it proper to direct his answer to the Observations, to the bishop of London, and the other bishops concerned in the publication of them. This answer occasioned the Rev. Mr. Church's expostulatory letter to Mr. Whitefield; to which he soon replied, with thanks to the author for prefixing his name.*

Having resolved to make another visit to America, whither Mr. Smith, a merchant, then in England, in the name of thousands, invited him. With him he took passage in a ship going from Portsmouth; but, being informed, just before he was about to take his farewell, that the captain refused to take him, for fear, as he alleged, of spoiling the sailors, he was obliged to go as far as Plymouth. "In my way," says he, "I preached at Wellington, where one Mr. Darracott had been a blessed instrument of doing much good. At Exeter, also, I revisited, where many souls were awakened to the divine life. At Biddeford, where good Mr. Hervey had been curate, we had much of the power of God; and also at Kingsbridge. But the chief scene was at Plymouth, and the Dock, where I expected least success."† It

* See Appendix for Mr. Whitefield's Answers to the Bishops.

† MS. Upon mentioning Biddeford, he adds here a character of Mr. Hervey; it is a pity he did not write it down. However we have a sketch of it in Letter DCCLXIII. "Your sentiments concerning Mr. H.'s book are very just. The author of it, is my old friend, a most heavenly-minded creature, one of the first of the Methodists, who is contented with a small cure, and gives

is remarkable, that, just before his success at Plymouth, he was in danger of being killed. Four gentlemen, it seems, came to the house of one of his particular friends, kindly inquiring after him, and desiring to know where he lodged. Soon afterwards, Mr. Whitefield received a letter, informing him, that the writer was a nephew of Mr. S——, an attorney at New York; that he had the pleasure of supping with Mr. Whitefield, at his uncle's house; and desired his company to sup with him, and a few more friends, at a tavern. Mr. Whitefield sent him word, that it was not customary for him to sup abroad at taverns, but should be glad of the gentleman's company, to eat a morsel with him at his lodging; he, accordingly, came and supped; but was observed, frequently, to look around him, and to be very absent. At last he took his leave, and returned to his companions in the tavern; and being, by them, interrogated, what he had done, he answered, "That he had been used so civilly, that he had not the heart to touch him." Upon which, it seems, another of the company, a lieutenant of a man of war, laid a wager of ten guineas, that he would do his business for him. His companions, however, had the precaution to take away his sword. It was now about midnight, and Mr. Whitefield, having that day preached to a large congregation, and visited the French prisoners, was gone to bed; when the landlady came and told him that a well-dressed gentleman desired

all that he has to the poor. He is very weak, and daily waits for his dissolution."

He is assaulted and beaten in his bed.

to speak with him. Mr. Whitefield, imagining it was somebody under conviction, desired him to be brought up. He came, and sat down by the bedside, congratulated him upon the success of his ministry, and expressed much concern at being detained from hearing him. Soon after, he broke out into the most abusive language, and, in a cruel and cowardly manner, beat him in his bed. The landlady and her daughter hearing the noise, rushed into the room, and seized upon him; but he soon disengaged himself from them, and repeated his blows on Mr. Whitefield, who, being apprehensive that he intended to shoot or stab him, underwent all the surprise of a sudden and violent death. Afterwards a second came into the house, and cried out from the bottom of the stairs, "Take courage, I am ready to help you." But, by the repeated cry of "murder!" the alarm was now so great, that they both made off. "The next morning," says Mr. Whitefield,* "I was to expound at a private house, and then to set out for Biddeford. Some urged me to stay and prosecute; but, being better employed, I went on my intended journey, was greatly blessed in preaching the everlasting gospel, and, upon my return, was well paid for what I had suffered: curiosity having led, perhaps, two thousand more than ordinary, to see and hear a man that had like to have been murdered†

* Letter DLII.

† This instance of Christian forbearance stands, perhaps, without a parallel in modern times, and proves this extraordinary man

in his bed. And, I trust, in the five weeks time,* while I waited for the convoy, hundreds were awakened and turned unto the Lord. At the Dock, also, near Plymouth, a glorious work was begun. Could the fields between Plymouth and the Dock speak, they could tell what blessed seasons were enjoyed there."

---

to have been a Christian in one of the most arduous points of Christian practice. The assault was of a nature so atrocious, and committed under circumstances of aggravation so peculiarly offensive in the eye of the law, that vindictive damages would, undoubtedly, have been awarded. The aggression was without the slightest provocation; indeed, so different were the manners of the man whom they had made the object of their brutality, that one of their company, we find, had been totally confounded in his intention, merely by his kindness and urbanity:—a more wanton assault never was conceived, or more cowardly executed; and we can only account for Mr. Whitefield's declining to prosecute, from that consistency of religious principles which seems to have invariably directed his conduct from the first moment of his adopting them. *Editor.*

* MS.

CHAP. XII.

From his embarking for America, in 1744, *to his going to the Bermudas, in the Year* 1748.

As soon as the convoy came,* Mr. Whitefield embarked in the beginning of August, 1744, though in a poor state of health. The tediousness of the voyage, he imagined, occasioned no small addition to a violent pain in his side—"However," he says, "Blessed be god, in a week or two after we sailed, we began to have a church in our ship. We had regular public prayer morning and evening, frequent communion, and days of humiliation and fasting." After a passage of eleven weeks,† he arrived at York, in New England. Colonel Pepperell went with some friends, in his own boat, to invite him to his house. But he was not in a proper condition to accept the invitation, being so ill of a nervous cholic, that he

* "August 4. Our convoy is now come. I desire you all to bless God for what he is doing in these parts; for preaching in the Dock is now like preaching at the Tabernacle. Our morning lectures are very delightful. O the thousands that flock to the preaching of Christ's gospel!" Letter DLVIII. DLIX.

"P.S. I must tell you one thing more—there is a ferry over to Plymouth. The ferrymen are now so much my friends, that they will take nothing of the multitudes that come to hear me preach; saying, 'God forbid that we should sell the word of God.'"

† His Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Litchfield and Coventry is dated during this voyage.

was obliged, immediately after his arrival, to go to bed. His friends were very apprehensive; but he himself had much inward peace. Great care was taken of him by a physician, who had been a notorious Deist, but was awakened, the last time he was in New England. For some time he was, indeed, very weak: "Yet," he writes,* "in three weeks, I was enabled to preach: but, imprudently going over the ferry to Portsmouth, I caught cold, immediately relapsed, and was taken, as every one thought, with death, in my dear friend Mr. Sherburne's house. What gave me most concern was, that notice had been given of my being to preach. Whilst the doctor was preparing a medicine, feeling my pains abated, I, on a sudden, cried, 'Doctor, my pains are suspended: by the help of God, I will go and preach, and then come home and die.' In my own apprehension, and, in all appearance, to others, I was a dying man. I preached. The people heard me as such. The invisible realities of another world lay open to my view. Expecting to stretch into eternity, and to be with my master before the morning, I spoke with peculiar energy. Such effects followed the word, I thought it was worth dying for a thousand times. Though wonderfully comforted within, at my return home, I thought I was dying indeed. I was laid on a bed upon the ground, near the fire, and I heard my friends say, 'He is gone.' But God was pleased to order it otherwise. I gradually recovered; and, soon after, a poor negro-woman would see me. She came,

* MS. and Letter DLXII. See Works, Vol. IV.

Is visited by a poor Negro woman.

sat down upon the ground, and looked earnestly in my face, and then said, in broken language; 'Master, you just go to heaven's gate, but Jesus Christ said, Get you down, get you down, you must not come here yet; but go first, and call some more poor negroes.' I prayed to the Lord, that if I was to live, this might be the event.

"In about three weeks I was enabled, though in great weakness, to reach Boston: and every day was more and more confirmed in what I had heard about a glorious work, that had been begun and carried on there, and in almost all parts of New England, for two years together. Before my last embarkation from Georgia, Mr. Colman and Mr. Cooper wrote me word, that, upon Mr. Tenant's going out as an itinerant, the awakening greatly increased in various places,* till, at length, the work so advanced everywhere, that many thought the latter-day glory was indeed come, and that a nation was to be born in a day. But, as the same sun that enlightens and warms the earth, gives vent to noxious insects; so the same work, that, for a while, carried all before it, was sadly blemished through the subtility of Satan,† and the want of more experience in ministers and people, who had never seen such a scene before. Opposers, who waited for such an occasion, did all they could to aggravate every thing. One rode several hundred miles, to pick

* See Prince's Christian History, (or Historical Collections, &c. Vol. II. page 304) where are attestations of above a hundred and twenty ministers to the goodness of the work.

† Thus it was at the Reformation in Germany.

up all the accounts he could get of what was wrong in what he called only 'a religious stir.' And God having been pleased to send me first, all was laid upon me. Testimonies, signed by various ministers, came out against me,* almost every day. And the disorders were also at the highest; so that, for a while, my situation was rendered uncomfortable.† But, amidst all this smoke, a blessed fire broke out. The

* He wrote an answer, to a Testimony by Harvard College. See Works, Vol. IV.

† While some published testimonials against Mr. Whitefield, others published testimonials in his favour: as Mr. Hobby, Mr. Loring; and fifteen ministers convened at Taunton, March 5, 1745. And the following paragraph is in Prince's Christian History, No. XCIV.—

"*Saturday, November* 24, 1744.

"The Rev. Mr. Whitefield was so far revived as to be able to set out from Portsmouth to Boston, whither he came in a very feeble state, the Monday-evening after: since which, he has been able to preach in several of our largest houses of public worship, particularly the Rev. Dr. Colman's, Dr. Sewall's, Mr. Webb's, and Mr. Gee's, to crowded assemblies of people, and with great and growing acceptance. At Dr. Colman's desire, and the consent of the church, on the Lord's day after his arrival, he administered to them the Holy Communion. And last Lord's-day he preached for Mr. Cheever, of Chelsea, and administered the Holy Supper there. The next day, preached for the Rev. Mr. Emerson, of Malden. Yesterday he set out to preach at some towns to the northward; proposes to return hither the next Wednesday-evening, and, after a few days, to comply with the earnest invitations of several ministers, to go and preach to their congregations in the southern parts of the province. He comes with the same extraordinary spirit of meekness, sweetness, and universal benevolence, as before. In opposition to the spirit of separation and bigotry, he is still for holding communion with all protestant churches. In opposition to enthusiasm, he preaches a close adherence to the scriptures, the necessity of trying all impressions

awakened souls were as eager as ever to hear the word.* Having heard that I had expounded early in Scotland, they begged I would do the same in Boston. I complied, and opened a lecture at six in the morning. I seldom preached to less than two thousand. It was delightful to see so many of both sexes, neatly dressed, flocking to hear the word, and returning home to family-prayer and breakfast, before the opposers were out of their beds. So that it was commonly said, that, between early rising and tar-water, the physicians would have no business."

It was now spring, 1745, and, at that time, the first expedition was set on foot against Cape Breton. Colonel Pepperell, who was then at Boston, and constantly attended Mr. Whitefield's lecture, was pleased, the day before he accepted a commission to

---

by them, and of rejecting whatever is not agreeable to them, as delusions. In opposition to Antinomianism, he preaches up all kinds of relative and religious duties, though to be performed in the strength of Christ; and, in short, the doctrines of the Church of England, and of the first fathers of this country. As before, he first applies himself to the understandings of his hearers, and then to the affections. And the more he preaches, the more he convinces people of their mistakes about him, and increases their satisfaction."

* "A man of good parts, ready wit, and lively imagination, who had made it his business, in order to furnish matter for preaching over a bottle, to come and hear, and then carry away scraps of my sermons; having, one night, got sufficient matter to work upon, as he thought, attempted to go out; but, being pent in on every side, he found his endeavours fruitless; obliged thus to stay, and looking up to me, waiting for some fresh matter for ridicule, God was pleased to prick him to the heart. He came to Mr. P. full of horror, confessed his crimes, and longed to ask my pardon." Letter DLXVI.

His influence requested in favour of the expedition to Cape Breton.

be general in that expedition, to ask Mr. Whitefield's opinion of the matter. He told him, with his usual frankness, "That he did not, indeed, think the scheme proposed for taking Louisbourg, very promising: that the eyes of all would be upon him; if he did not succeed, the widows and orphans of the slain soldiers, would be like lions robbed of their whelps; but, if it pleased God to give him success, envy would endeavour to eclipse his glory; he had need, therefore, if he went, to go with a single eye; and then, there was no doubt, but, if Providence really called him, he would find his strength proportioned to the day." About the same time, Mr. Sherburne, another of Mr. Whitefield's friends, being appointed one of the Commissaries, told him, 'He must favour the expedition, otherwise the serious people would be discouraged from enlisting; not only so, but insisted he should give him a motto for his flag, for the encouragement of his soldiers.' This he refused to do, as it would be acting out of character. But Mr. Sherburne would take no denial. He, therefore, at last, gave them one, *Nil desperandum Christo Duce.* "If Christ be Captain, no fear of a defeat." Upon which great numbers enlisted,* and, before their embarkation, the officers desired him to give them a sermon. This he readily complied with, and preached from these words:—"As many as were distressed, as many as were discontented, as many as were in debt, came to David, and he became a captain over them." He spiritualized the subject, and told them, how dis-

* Letter DLXXII.

Preaches a thanksgiving sermon on the taking of Louisbourg.

tressed sinners came to Jesus Christ, the son of David; and, in his application, exhorted the soldiers to behave like the soldiers of David, and the officers to act like David's worthies; then he made no manner of doubt, there would be good news from Cape Breton. After this, he preached to the general himself; who asked him, if he would not be one of his chaplains? But he excused himself, and said, "He should think it an honour, but believed, as he generally preached three times a-day, in various places, to large congregations, he could do more service by stirring up the people to pray, and thereby strengthening his, and his soldiers hands. And in this practice he persisted during the siege of Louisbourg. "I believe," adds he,* "if ever people went with a disinterested view, the New Englanders did then. Though many of them were raw and undisciplined, yet numbers were substantial persons, who left their farms, and willingly ventured all for their country's good. An amazing scene of providences appeared,† and, though some discouraging accounts were sent during the latter end of the siege; yet, in about six weeks, news was brought of the surrender of Louisbourg. Numbers flocked, from all quarters, to hear a thanksgiving sermon upon the occasion. And, I trust, the blessing bestowed on the country, through the thanksgivings of many, redounded to the glory of God."

The New England people had, some time ago, offered to build him a large house to preach in; but,

* MS. and Letter DLXXII.

† See Mr. Prince's Sermon on that occasion.

as this scheme might have abridged his liberty of itinerating, he thanked them for their kind offer, and, at the same time, begged leave to refuse the accepting of it.* As his bodily strength increased, and his health grew better, he began to move farther southward; and, after preaching eastward, as far as Cascobay and North Yarmouth, he went through Connecticutt, Plymouth, and Rhode Island, preaching to thousands, generally twice a day. "And, though," says he,† "there was much smoke, yet every day I had more and more convincing proof, that a blessed Gospel-fire had been kindled in the hearts both of ministers and people. At New York, where I preached as usual, I found that the seed sown, had sprung up abundantly; and, at the east end of Long Island, saw many instances. In my way to Philadelphia, I had the pleasure of preaching, by an interpreter, to some converted Indians, and of seeing near fifty young ones in one school, near Free-hold, learning the Assembly's catechism.—A blessed awakening had been begun, and carried on, among the Delaware Indians, by the instrumentality of Mr. David Brainard,‡ such a one as hath not been heard of since the awakening in New England by the venerable Mr. Elliot, who used to be styled, the Apostle of the Indians; his brother followed him. Mr. William Tennent, whose party I found much upon the advance, seemed to encourage their endeavours with all his heart.

"His brother, Mr. Gilbert Tennent, being earnest-

* Letter DLXVII. † MS.

‡ See his Life and Journals.

ly solicited thereto, I found settled in the place formerly erected at the beginning of the awakening. The gentlemen offered me eight hundred pounds a-year, only to preach among them six months, and to travel the other six months where I would. Nothing remarkable happened, during my way southward. But, when I came to Virginia, I found that the Word of the Lord had run and was glorified. During my preaching at Glasgow, some persons wrote some of my extempore sermons, and printed them almost as fast as I preached them. Some of these were carried to Virginia, and one of them fell into the hands of Samuel Morris. He read and found benefit.* He then read them to others; they were awakened and convinced. A fire was kindled; opposition was made; other labourers were sent for; and many, both white people and negroes, were converted to the Lord.

"In North Carolina, where I stayed too short a time, little was done. At Georgia, through the badness of the institution, and the trustees' obstinacy in not altering it, my load of debt and care was greatly increased, and, at times, almost overwhelmed me. But I had the pleasure of seeing one, who came as a player from New York, now converted unto God, and a preacher of Jesus Christ. One Mr. Ratteray brought me ten pounds; and, at my return northward, fresh supplies were raised up. The generous Charles-town people raised a subscription of three

* See this more fully narrated, Hist. Coll. Book IV. Chap. V. Sect. 22.

hundred pounds, with which I bought land, being cheap during the war; and a plantation and a few negroes were purchased at Indian-land. Thus, for a while, the gap was stopped. I preached a sermon upon the rebellion. Was very sick at Philadelphia; kindly received at Bohemia, and at New York.

"As itinerating was my delight, and America, as being a new world, particularly pleasing, I now began to think of returning no more to my native country. But travelling, care, and a load of debt contracted, not for myself, but the Orphan-house, weighed me down. And, being much troubled with stitches in my side, I was advised to go to Bermudas, for the recovery of my health.*" He, accordingly,

* In his letters during this period, are the following passages:—

"*August* 26, 1746. The door for my usefulness opens wider and wider. I love to range in the American woods, and sometimes think, I shall never return to England any more.

"*October* 8. I have had some sweet times with several of the Lutheran ministers at Philadelphia.

"*November* 8. I have lately been in seven counties in Maryland, and preached to great congregations.

"*May* 21, 1747. I have now been upon the stretch, preaching constantly for almost three weeks. My body is often extremely weak, but the joy of the Lord is my strength; and, by the help of God, I intend going on till I drop, or this poor carcase can hold out no more. These southern colonies lie in darkness, and yet, as far as I find, are as willing to receive the Gospel, as others. If some good books could be purchased, to dispose among poor people, much good might be done.

"*June* 1. The congregations yesterday were exceeding large. I am sick and well, as I used to be in England; but the Redeemer fills me with comfort. I am determined, in his strength, to die fighting.

"*June* 4. I have omitted preaching one night, to oblige my

embarked, and landed there the 15th of March, 1748.

---

friends, that they may not charge me with murdering myself; but I hope yet to die in the pulpit, or soon after I come out of it.

"*June* 23. Since my last I have been several times on the verge of eternity. At present, I am so weak that I cannot preach. It is hard work to be silent, but I must be tried every way.

"*June* 29. God has been pleased to bring my body to the very brink of the grave, by convulsions, gravel, a nervous cholic, and a violent fever. For this week past I have not preached; but since my leaving Philadelphia, about three days ago, I seem to have gathered strength, and hope, once more, to-morrow, to proclaim amongst poor sinners, the unsearchable riches of Jesus Christ. I purpose to go to Boston, and return by land, so as to reach Charles-town by November.

"*July* 4. At present I am very weakly, and scarce able to preach above once or twice a-week.

"*September* 11. We saw great things in New England. The flocking and power that attended the word, were like unto that seven years ago. Weak as I was, and have been, I was enabled to travel eleven hundred miles, and preach daily. I am now going to Georgia to winter."

CHAP. XIII.

From his Arrival at the Bermudas, to his Return to London, in July, 1748.

MR. WHITEFIELD met with the kindest reception at Bermudas, and, for above a month, he preached generally twice a-day, traversing the island from one end to the other: but his activity, usefulness, and treatment will best appear by an extract from his manuscript journal of that period.

"The simplicity and plainness of the people, together with the pleasant situation of the island, much delighted me. The Rev. Mr. Holiday, minister of Spanish-point, received me in a most affectionate and Christian manner, and begged I would make his house my home. In the evening I expounded at the house of Mr. Savage, of Port Royal, which was very commodious, and which also he would have me make my home. I went with Mr. Savage, in a boat lent us by Captain ———, to the town of St. George, in order to pay our respects to the governor. All along we had a most pleasant prospect of the other part of the island; but a more pleasant one I never saw. One Mrs. Smith, of St. George's, for whom I had a letter of recommendation from my dear old friend, Mr. Smith, of Charlestown, received me into her house. About noon, with one of the council and Mr. Savage, I waited upon the governor. He received us courteously, and invited us to dine with him and the council at a tavern. We accepted the invitation, and all behaved with great civility and respect. After the governor rose from table, he desired, if I stayed in town on the sunday, that I would dine with him at his own house.

"*Sunday, March* 20.—Read prayers and preached twice this day, to what were esteemed here large auditories, in the morning at Spanish-point church, and in the evening at Brackish-pond church, about two miles distant from each other. In the afternoon I spoke with greater freedom than in the morning, and I trust not altogether in vain. All were attentive—some wept. I dined with Colonel Butterfield, one of the council, and received several invitations to other gentlemen's houses. May God bless and reward them, and incline them to open their heart to receive the Lord Jesus! Amen, and Amen!

"*Wednesday, March* 23.—Dined with Captain Gibbs, and went from thence and expounded at the house of Captain F—le, at Humbay, about two miles distant. The company was here also large, attentive, and affected. Our Lord gave me utterance: I expounded on the first part of the viiith chapter of Jeremiah. After lecture, Mr. Riddle, a counsellor, invited me to his house, as did Mr. Paul, an aged presbyterian minister, to his pulpit; which I complied with upon condition the report was true, that the governor had served the ministers with an injunction that I should not preach in the churches.

"*Friday, March* 25. Was prevented preaching yesterday by the rain, which continued from morning till night; but this afternoon God gave me another opportunity of declaring his eternal truths, to a large company, at the house of one Mr. B——s, who last night sent me a letter of invitation.

"*Sunday, March* 27.—Glory be to God! I hope this has been a profitable Sabbath to many souls: It has been a pleasant one to mine. Both morning and afternoon I preached to a large auditory, for Bermudas, in Mr. Paul's meeting-house, which, I suppose, contains above four hundred. Abundance of negroes, and many others, were in the vestry, porch, and about the house. The word seemed to be clothed with a convincing power, and to make its way into the hearts of the hearers. Between sermons I was entertained very civilly in a neighbour-

ing house; Judge Bascom, and three more of the council came thither; each gave me an invitation to his house. O how does the Lord make way for a poor stranger in a strange land! After the second sermon, I dined with Mr. Paul; and, in the evening, expounded to a very large company, at Counsellor Riddle's. My body was somewhat weak, but the Lord carried me through, and caused me to go to rest rejoicing. May I thus go to my grave, when my ceaseless uninterrupted rest shall begin!

"*Monday, March* 28.—Dined this day at Mrs. D——l's, mother-in-law to my dear friend, the Rev. Mr. Smith; and, afterwards, preached to more than a large house full of people, on Matt. ix. 12. Towards the conclusion of the sermon, the hearers began to be more affected than I have yet seen them. Surely the Lord Jesus will give me some seals in this island! Grant this, O Redeemer, for thy infinite mercy's sake!

"*Thursday, March* 31.—Dined on Tuesday at Colonel Corbusiers; and, on Wednesday, at Colonel Gilbert's, both of the council, and found, by what I could hear, that some good had been done, and many prejudices removed. Who shall hinder, if God will work. Went to an island, this afternoon, called Ireland, upon which live a few families; and, to my surprise, found a great many gentlemen and other people, with my friend Mr. Holiday, who came from different quarters to hear me. Before I began preaching, I went round to see a most remarkable cave, which very much displayed the exquisite workmanship of Him, who, in his strength, setteth fast the mountains, and is girded about with power. Whilst I was in the cave, quite unexpectedly, I turned and saw Counsellor Riddle, who, with his son, came to hear me; and, whilst we were in the boat, told me that he had been with the governor, who declared he had no personal prejudice against me, and wondered I did not come to town and preach there, for it was the desire of the people; and that any house in the town, the court-house not excepted, should be at my service. Thanks be to God, for

so much favour! if his cause requires it, I shall have more. He knows my heart: I value the favour of man no farther than as it makes room for the gospel, and gives me a larger scope to promote the glory of God. There being no capacious house upon the island, I preached, for the first time here, in the open air; all heard very attentive, and it was very pleasant, after sermon, to see so many boats full of people, returning from the worship of God. I talked seriously to some in our own boat, and began to sing a psalm, in which they readily joined.

"*Sunday, April* 3. Preached twice this day at Mr. Paul's meeting-house, as on the last sabbath, but with greater freedom and power, especially in the morning, and, I think, to as great, if not greater, auditories. Dined with Colonel H—vy, another of the council; visited a sick woman, where many came to hear, and expounded afterwards, to a great company, at Captain John Dorrel's, Mrs. D—l's son, who, with his wife, courteously entertained me, and desired me to make his house my home. So true is that promise of our Lord's, 'That whosoever leaves father or mother, houses or lands, shall have in this life a hundred-fold with persecution, and in the world to come, life everlasting.' Lord, I have experienced the one; in thy good time grant that I may experience the other also!

"*Wednesday, April* 6.—Preached yesterday at the house of Mr. Anthony Smith, of Baylis Bay, with a considerable degree of warmth, and rode afterwards to St. George's, the only town on the island. The gentlemen of the town had sent me an invitation by Judge Bascome, and he, with several others, came to visit me at my lodgings, and informed me, that the governor desired to see me. About ten I waited upon his excellency, who received me with great civility, and told me he had no objection against my person or my principles, having never yet heard me, and he knew nothing in respect to my conduct in moral life, that might prejudice him against me; but his instructions were, to let none preach in the island, unless he had a written license to preach somewhere in America or the

West Indies; at the same time he acknowledged it was but a matter of mere form. I informed his excellency, that I had been regularly inducted to the parish of Savannah: that I was ordained priest by letters dimissory from my Lord of London, and under no church censure from his lordship; and would always read the church prayers, if the clergy would give me the use of their churches; I added further, that a minister's pulpit was looked upon as his freehold, and that I knew one clergyman who had denied his own diocesan the use of his pulpit. But I told his excellency, I was satisfied with the liberty he allowed me, and would not act contrary to his injunction. I then begged leave to be dismissed, because I was to preach at eleven o'clock. His excellency said, he intended to do himself the pleasure to hear me. At eleven the church-bell rung, the church-bible, prayer-book, and cushion were sent to the town-house. The governor, several of the council, the minister of the parish, and assembly-men, with a great number of town's-people, assembled in great order. I was very sick, through a cold I catched last night; but I read the church-prayers (the first lesson was the xvth of the first book of Samuel) and preached on those words, 'Righteousness exalteth a nation.' Being weak and faint, and having much of the head-ach, I did not do that justice to my subject as I sometimes am enabled to do; but the Lord so helped me, that, as I found afterwards, the governor and the other gentlemen expressed their approbation, and acknowledged they did not expect to be so well entertained. Not unto me, O Lord, not unto me, but unto thy free grace be all the glory!

"After sermon, Dr. F– bs, and Mr. P—t, the collector, came to me, and desired me to favour them and the gentlemen of the town with my company to dine with them. I accepted the invitation. The governor, and the president, and Judge Bascome were there. All wondered at my speaking so freely and fluently without notes. The governor asked me whether I used minutes.—I answered, No. He said it was a great gift.

Answers several important questions at the Governor's table.

At table his Excellency introduced something of religion, by asking me the meaning of the word Hades. Several other things were started, about Free-will, Adam's fall, Predestination, &c. to all which God enabled me to answer so pertinently, and taught me to mix the *utile* and *dulce* so together, that all at table seemed highly pleased, shook me by the hand, and invited me to their respective houses. The Governor, in particular, asked me to dine with him on the morrow; and Dr. F——b, one of his particular intimates, invited me to drink tea in the afternoon. I thanked all, returned proper respects, and went to my lodgings with some degree of thankfulness for the assistance vouchsafed me, and abased before God at the consideration of my unworthiness. In the afternoon, about five o'clock, I expounded the parable of the Prodigal son to many people at a private house; and, in the evening, had liberty to speak freely and closely to those that supped with me. O that this may be the beginning of good gospel-times to the inhabitants of this town! Lord, teach me to deal prudently with them, and cause them to melt under thy word!

"*Friday, April* 8.—Preached yesterday with great clearness and freedom, to about fourscore people at a house on David's island, over against St. George's town; went and lay at Mr. Holiday's, who came in a boat to fetch me; and this day I heard him preach and read prayers; after which, I took the sacrament from him. Honest man, he would have had me administer and officiate; but I chose not to do it, lest I should bring him into trouble after my departure. However, in the afternoon, I preached at one Mr. Tod's, in the same parish, to a very large company indeed. The Lord was with me. My heart was warm; and what went from the heart I trust went to the heart, for many were affected. O that they may be converted also! Then will it be a *Good Friday* indeed to their souls.

"*Sunday, April* 10.—Dined and conversed yesterday, very agreeably, with Judge Bascome; who seems to have the great-

Preaches an impressive funeral sermon on the death of a child.

est insight into the difference between the Arminian and Calvinistical scheme of any one I have yet met with upon the island. In the afternoon, I visited a sick paralytic; and this day, I preached twice again at Mr. Paul's meeting-house. The congregations were rather larger than ever, and the power of God seemed to be more amongst them. I think I see a visible alteration for the better every Lord's day. Blessed be God! In the evening I expounded, at Mr. Joseph Dorrell's, (where I dined) to a very large company; then went to his kinsman's, my usual lodging on Saturday and Sunday evenings, who, with his wife and other friends, seems kinder and kinder daily. Good measure, pressed down, and running over, may the Lord, both as to spirituals and temporals, return into all their bosoms!

"*Saturday, April* 16.—Preached since Lord's day at five different houses, to concerned and affected congregations, at different parts of the island, but was more indisposed, one night, after going to bed, than I had been for some time. On two of the days of this week, I dined with the President and Captain Spafford, one of the council; both which entertained me with the utmost civility.

"*Sunday,* 17.—Still God magnifies his power and goodness more and more. This morning we had a pleasing sight at Mr. Paul's meeting-house. I began to preach, and the people to hear, and be affected as in days of old at home. Indeed, the prospect is encouraging. Praise the Lord, O my soul! After preaching twice to large congregations in the meeting-house, I, at the desire of the parents, preached in the evening a sermon at the funeral of a little boy about five years of age. A great number of people attended, and the Lord enabled me so to speak, as to affect many of the hearers.—Blessed be the Lord for this day's work! Not unto me, O Lord, not unto me, but unto thy free grace be all the glory!

Sunday, April 24.—The last week being rainy, I preached only five times in private houses, and this day but once in the meeting-house; but I hope neither time without effect. This

evening expounded at Counsellor Riddle's, who, with the other gentlemen, treats me with greater respect every day. Colonel Gilbert, one of the council, has lent me his horse during my stay; and Mr. D——ll, this morning, informed me of a design the gentlemen had, to raise a contribution to help me to discharge my arrears, and support my Orphan family.—Thanks be given to thy name, O God! Thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I want to owe no man any thing, but love and provide for Bethesda after my decease. Thou hast promised thou wilt fulfil the desires of them that fear thee. I believe, Lord, help my unbelief, that thou wilt fulfil this desire of my soul. Even so, Amen!

"*Saturday, April* 30.—Preached since Lord's day two funeral sermons, and, at five different houses in different parts of the island to still larger and larger auditories, and perceived the people to be affected more and more. Twice or thrice I preached without doors. Riding in the sun, and preaching very earnestly a little fatigued me; so that this evening I was obliged to lie down for some time. *Faint, yet pursuing;* must be my motto still.

"*Sunday, May* 1.—This morning was a little sick; but I trust God gave us a happy beginning of the new month. I preached twice with power, especially in the morning, to a very great congregation in the meeting-house; and, in the evening, having given previous notice, I preached about four miles distant, in the fields, to a large company of negroes, and a number of white people, who came to hear what I had to say to them. I believe, in all, there were near fifteen hundred people. As the sermon was intended for the negroes, I gave the auditory warning, that my discourse would be chiefly directed to them, and that I should endeavour to imitate the example of Elijah, who, when he was about to raise the child, contracted himself to its length. The negroes seemed very sensible and attentive. When I asked them, whether all of them did not desire to go to heaven, one of them, with a very audible voice, said, 'Yes, Sir.'

Evinces much prudence in his address to the Negroes.

This caused a little smiling; but, in general, every thing was carried on with great decency; and, I believe, the Lord enabled me so to discourse, as to touch the negroes, and yet not to give them the least umbrage, to slight, or behave imperiously to their masters. If ever a minister in preaching, need the wisdom of the serpent to be joined with the harmlessness of the dove, it must be when discoursing to negroes. Vouchsafe me this favour, O God, for thy dear son's sake!

" *Monday, May* 2.—Upon inquiry, I found that some of the negroes did not like my preaching, because I told them of their cursing, swearing, thieving, and lying. One or two of the worst of them, as I was informed, went away. Some said, they would not go any more: they liked Mr. M——r better, for he never told them of these things; and I said, their hearts were as black as their faces. They expected, they said, to hear me speak against their masters. Blessed be God, that I was directed not to say any thing, this first time, to the masters at all, though my text led me to it. It might have been of bad consequence, to tell them their duty, or charge them too roundly with the neglect of it, before their slaves. They would mind all I said to their masters; and, perhaps, nothing that I said to them. Every thing is beautiful in its season. Lord, teach me always that due season, wherever I am called, to give either black or white, a portion of thy word! However, others of the poor creatures, I hear, were very thankful, and came home to their masters' houses, saying, that they would strive to sin no more—Poor hearts! These different accounts affected me; and, upon the whole, I could not help rejoicing, to find that their consciences were so far awake.

" *Saturday, May* 7.—In my conversation these two days, with some of my friends, I was diverted much, in hearing several things that passed among the poor negroes, since my preaching to them last Sunday. One of the women, it seems, said, ' that if the book I preached out of was the best book that ever was bought at, and come out of, London, she was sure

it had never all that in it, which I spoke to the negroes.' The old man, who spoke out loud last Sunday, and said, 'Yes,' when I asked them, whether all the negroes would not go to heaven, being questioned by somebody, why he spoke out so? answered, 'That the Gentleman put the question once or twice to them, and the other fools had not the manners to make me any answer, till, at last, I seemed to point to him, and he was ashamed that nobody should answer me, and therefore he did.' Another, wondering why I said, 'Negroes had black hearts;' was answered by his black brother, thus: 'Ah, thou fool, dost thou not understand it? He means black with sin.' Two more girls were overheard by their mistress, talking about religion, and they said, 'They knew if they did not repent, they must be damned.' From all which I infer, that these Bermudas negroes are more knowing than I supposed; that their consciences are awake, and consequently prepared, in a good measure, for hearing the Gospel preached unto them.*

"*Sunday, May* 8.—This also, I trust, has been a good sabbath. In the morning I was helped to preach powerfully to a melting, and rather a larger congregation than ever, in Mr. Paul's meeting-house; and, in the evening, to almost as large a congregation of black and white, as last Sunday, in the fields, near my hearty friend Mr. Holiday's house. To see so many black faces was affecting. They heard very attentively, and some of them now began to weep. May God grant them a godly sorrow, that worketh repentance not to be repented of!

"*Friday, May* 13.—This afternoon preached over the corpse of Mr. Paul's eldest son, about twenty-four years of

* This account of his ministration to the Negroes does equal honour to his head and heart. The zeal and judgment displayed in his mode of addressing them, evince the excellence of his ministerial qualifications; a very prominent feature of which seems to have been, a singular versatility of style, by which he arrested the attention of all classes of people, and, to use his own expression, contracted, and dilated himself to their various *length*.—*Ed.*

age; and, by all I could hear and judge of, by conversing with him, he did indeed die in the Lord. I visited him twice last Lord's-day, and was quite satisfied with what he said, though he had not much of the sensible presence of God. I find he was a preacher upon his death-bed: For he exhorted all his companions to love Christ in sincerity, and blessed his brother and sister, and, I think, his father and mother, just before his departure. A great many people attended the funeral. I preached on Luke vii. 13. 'And when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep not.' Many were affected in the application of my discourse; and, I trust, some will be induced, by this young man's good example, to remember their Redeemer in the days of their youth. Grant it, O Lord, for thy dear son's sake!

"*Sunday, May* 15.—Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within thee praise his holy name! This morning I preached my farewell sermon at Mr. Paul's meeting-house; it was quite full; and, as the President said, above one hundred and fifty whites, besides blacks, were round the house. Attention sat on every face; and, when I came to take my leave, oh! what a sweet unaffected weeping was there to be seen every where. I believe there were few dry eyes. The negroes likewise without doors, I heard wept plentifully.—My own heart was affected; and, though I have parted from friends so often, yet I find every fresh parting almost unmans me, and very much affects my heart. Surely, a great work is begun in some souls at Bermudas. Carry it on, O Lord; and if it be thy will, send me to this dear people again. Even so Lord Jesus! Amen.

"After sermon, I dined with three of the council, and other gentlemen and ladies, at Captain Bascome's; and from thence we went to a funeral, at which Mr. M——r preached; and, after, I expounded on our Lord's transfiguration, at the house of one Mrs. Harvey, sister to dear Mr. Smith, of Charles-town.

General regret at his departure.

The house was exceedingly full, and it was supposed above three hundred stood in the yard. The Lord enabled me to lift up my voice like a trumpet. Many wept. Mr. M—— r returned from the funeral with me, and attended the lecture, as did the three counsellors, with whom I conversed very freely. May God reward them, and all the dear people of the island, for those many and great favours they have conferred on me, who am the chief of sinners, and less than the least of all saints!

"*Sunday, May* 22.—Blessed be God! the little leaven thrown into the three measures of meal begins to ferment, and work almost every day, for the week past. I have conversed with souls loaded with a sense of their sins, and, as far as I can judge, really pricked to the heart. I preached only three times, but to almost three times larger auditories than usual. Indeed the fields are white, ready unto harvest. God has been pleased to bless private visits. Go where I will, upon the least notice, houses are crowded, and the poor souls that follow are soon drenched in tears. This day I took, as it were, another farewell. As the ship did not sail, I preached at Somerset in the morning, to a large congregation in the fields, and expounded in the evening to as large a one at Mr. Harvey's house, round which stood many hundreds of people. But in the morning and the evening how did the poor souls weep. The Lord seemed to be with me in a peculiar manner; and, though I was ready to die with heat and straining, yet I was enabled to speak louder, and with greater power, I think, than I have been before. Gifts and grace, especially in the evening, were both in exercise. After the service, when I lay down on the bed to rest, many came weeping bitterly around me, and took their last farewell. Though my body was very weak, yet my soul was full of comfort. It magnified the Lord, and my spirit rejoiced in God my saviour. Abundance of prayers and blessings were put up for my safe passage to England, and speedy return to Bermudas again. May they enter into the

Expresses his gratitude to the people of Bermudas.

ears of the Lord of Sabaoth! For, God willing, I intend visiting these dear people once more. In the mean while, with all humility and thankfulness of heart, will I here, O Lord, set up my Ebenezer: For hitherto, surely, thou hast helped me! I cannot help thinking that I was led to this island by a peculiar Providence. My dear friend, Mr. Smith, of Charles-town, has been made especially instrumental thereto. Thanks be to the Lord for sending me hither. I have been received in a manner I dared not expect, and have met with little, very little opposition indeed. The inhabitants seem to be plain and open hearted. They have also been open-handed. For they have loaded me with provisions for my sea-store; and in the several parishes, by a private voluntary contribution, have raised me upwards of a hundred pounds sterling. This will pay a little of Bethesda's debt, and enable me to make such a remittance to my dear yoke-fellow, as may keep her from being embarrassed, or too much beholden in my absence. Blessed be God, for bringing me out of my embarrassments by degrees! May the Lord reward all my benefactors a thousand fold! I hear that what was given, was given exceeding heartily, and people only lamented that they could do no more."

After having transmitted to Georgia, what was given to him for the Orphan-house, and dreading to go back to America in that season of heat, for fear of relapsing, and having pressing calls to England, he took the opportunity of a brig, and in twenty-eight days arrived at Deal.* The next even-

* During this voyage, among other letters, he wrote the following:—

"*June* 24, 1748, (*On board.*)

"Yesterday I made an end of revising all my Journals. Alas! alas! in how many things have I judged and acted wrong. I have

ing, July 6, 1748, he reached London, after an absence of near four years.

---

been too rash and hasty in giving characters both of places and persons. Being fond of Scripture language, I have often used a style too apostolical;(*a*) and, at the same time, I have been too bitter in my zeal. Wild fire has been mixt with it; and I find that I frequently wrote and spoke in my own spirit, when I thought I was writing and speaking by the assistance of the Spirit of God. I have likewise too much made inward impressions my rule of acting, and too soon and too explicitly published what had been better kept in longer, or told after my death. By these things, I have hurt the blessed cause I would defend, and also stirred up needless opposition. This has humbled me much, and made me think of a saying of Mr. Henry's, 'Joseph had more honesty than he had policy, or he never would have told his dreams.' At the same time, I cannot but praise God, who filled me with so much of his holy fire, and carried me, a poor weak youth, through such a torrent both of popularity and contempt, and set so many seals to my unworthy ministrations. I bless him for ripening my judgment a little more, for giving me to see and confess, and I hope, in some degree, to correct and amend, some of my mistakes."

At this time, also, he finished his "Abridgment of Mr. Law's Serious Call;" which he endeavoured to make more useful, by excluding whatever is not truly evangelical, and illustrating the subject more fully from the Holy Scriptures. See his Works, Vol. IV.

(*a*) Surely this candid acknowledgment entitled him to a full exemption from that illiberal ridicule which his adversaries, not being able to invalidate his general doctrine, bestowed on occasional peculiarities in his style.—*Ed.*

CHAP. XIV.

From his Arrival in London 1748, *to his going to Ireland, in the Year* 1751.

On Mr. Whitefield's visiting a few of his friends, immediately after his return, he found himself in no very agreeable situation. His congregation at the Tabernacle was sadly scattered. And, as to his outward circumstances, he had sold all his household furniture, to help to pay the Orphan-house debt, which yet was far from being cancelled. But, under all these discouragements, he was still supported. His congregation was soon re-united, and received him with the greatest joy. And, at this time, a very unexpected thing happened to him. Lady Huntingdon, before his arrival, had ordered Mr. Howel Harris to bring him to her house at Chelsea, as soon as he came ashore. He went, and having preached twice, the Countess wrote to him, that several of the nobility desired to hear him. In a few days the Earl of Chesterfield, and a whole circle of them attended; and having heard once, desired they might hear him again. "I therefore preached again," says he, "in the evening, and went home, never more surprised at any incident in my life.* All behaved quite well, and were, in some degree, affected. The Earl of

* MS. and Letter DCLXXIII.

Receives the approbation of Lords Chesterfield and Bolingbroke.

Chesterfield thanked me, and said, 'Sir, I will not tell you what I shall tell others, how I approve of you;' or words to this purpose. At last Lord Bolingbroke came to hear, sat like an archbishop, and was pleased to say, 'I had done great justice to the divine attributes in my discourse.'* Soon afterwards her Ladyship removed to town, where I preached generally twice a-week, to very brilliant auditories. Blessed be God, not without effectual success on some."

In September 1748, he made a third visit to Scotland, where he met with a hearty welcome. Great multitudes flocked to hear him, both at Edinburgh and Glasgow. "I have reason," says he, (Letter DCC) to believe some have been awakened, and many quickened and comforted. My old friends are more solidly so than ever; and a foundation, I trust, has been laid for doing much good, if ever the Lord shall call me thither again. Two Synods† and one

* It is also said that David Hume, Esq. of Edinburgh, was a hearer of Mr. Whitefield's, and was much taken with his eloquence. Such testimonies are set down, not for their weight, but their singularity.

† He means the Synods of Glasgow and Perth, and the Presbytery of Edinburgh. What happened in the Synod of Glasgow, may be seen in a pamphlet, entitled, "A fair and impartial Account of the Debate in the Synod of Glasgow and Air, 6th October 1748, anent employing Mr. Whitefield;" published at Edinburgh the same year, and supposed to be written by the Rev. Dr. Erskine, who was then minister at Kirkintilloch. The short history of the matter is this: A motion was made, tending to prohibit or discourage ministers from employing Mr. Whitefield. The speeches made, in support of the motion, were upon the follow-

Presbytery, brought me upon the carpet; but all has worked for good." While he was in Scotland, he endeavoured to do all the service he could to the New Jersey college; and, in conjunction with some

ing topics:—His being a priest of the church of England—That he had not subscribed the Formula—His Imprudencies—Chimerical scheme of the Orphan-house—Want of evidence, that the money he collects is rightly applied—Asserting that assurance is essential to faith—Encouraging a dependance on impulses and immediate revelations—Declaring on slender evidence, some people converted, and others carnal and unregenerated—Often, indeed, pretending to repent of his blunders, and retract; but as often relapsing into them—And lastly, his being under a sentence of suspension by Commissary Garden, from which he had appealed to the High Court of Chancery, and made oath to prosecute that appeal in a twelvemonth; and yet it was never prosecuted.

On the other hand, the ministers who were against the motion, spoke in this manner. "I blush to think," said one, "that any of our brethren should befriend a proposal, so contrary to that moderation and catholic spirit, which now is, and I hope, ever shall be, the glory of our church. I am sensible, many things in the church of England need reformation; but I honour her, notwithstanding, as our sister-church. If Bishop Butler, Bishop Sherlock, or Bishop Secker were in Scotland, I should welcome them to my pulpit. In this, I should imitate Mr. Samuel Rutherford, as firm a Presbyterian as any of us, who yet employed Bishop Usher. There is no Law of Christ, no Act of Assembly, prohibiting me to give my pulpit to an Episcopal, Independent, or Anabaptist minister, if of sound principles in the fundamentals of Religion, and of a sober life. Our church expressly enjoins, Act XIII, April 1711, that great tenderness is to be used to foreign Protestants. The requiring strangers to subscribe our Formula, before they preach with us, would lay as effectual a bar against employing those of Congregational Principles, or Presbyterian Non-subscribers, as those of the Church of England."

"As to Mr. Whitefield," said another, "there are few ministers whose character has been so well attested, by the most competent judges, both at home and abroad. One thing I cannot but ob-

ministers who wished well to that institution, advised the sending over a minister from America, to make application in person: which was afterwards done in the year 1754, when Mr. Tennant and Mr.

serve: those who have spoken most warmly against Mr. Whitefield in this debate, acknowledge they have made little or no inquiry into his character: whereas, those, on the other side, have made a very careful inquiry; and that inquiry has turned out entirely to their satisfaction. With regard to his imprudencies, there is a great difference betwixt blunders owing to a bad heart, and those that are owing only to a misinformed judgment; especially, when the mistakes that occasioned them, have misled several great and good men. Whether Mr. Whitefield's scheme of the Orphan-house be prudent or not, it is demonstrable, it was honestly meant. The magistrates of Savannah published three years ago, in the Philadelphia Gazette, an affidavit that they had carefully examined Mr. Whitefield's receipts and disbursements, and found that what he had collected in behalf of the Orphans, had been honestly applied; and that besides, he had given considerably to them of his own property. As to his maintaining, that assurance is essential to faith; encouraging an unwarrantable regard to impressions; and being too hasty in pronouncing men carnal or converted; his sentiments, in these particulars, have been altered for upwards of two years. And now he scarce preaches a sermon, without guarding his hearers against relying on impressions, and telling them that faith, and a persuasion we are justified, are very different things, and that a holy life is the best evidence of a gracious state. These retractions are owing to a real change of sentiment. Letters from correspondents in New England shew, that this change is, at least, of two years date; and that ever since it happened, he has preached and acted with remarkable caution. Lastly, with respect to the prosecution of his appeal, Mr. Whitefield exerted himself to the utmost, to get his appeal heard, but could not prevail on the Lords Commissioners so much as once to meet on the affair; they, no doubt, thinking of Mr. Garden's arbitrary proceedings with the contempt they deserved. But say some, 'Mr. Whitefield being under a suspension not yet reversed, is now no minister.' But for

Conceives the idea of rendering his Orphan-house an Academy also.

Davies applied to the General Assembly, and obtained an appointment of a general collection. He also began to think of making his Orphan-house not only a receptacle for fatherless children, but also a place of literature and academical studies. Such a place, he thought, was much wanted in the southern parts of America; and, if conducted in a proper manner, would be of great service to the colony. He therefore, after his return to England, wrote to the Trustees, signifying that this was his intention, if they would be pleased to put the colony upon another footing, and allow a limited use of negroes; without which, he had long been of opinion, that Georgia never could be a flourishing province.* Mean time, he went on in his usual way, and with his usual success at London, Bristol, and Gloucester, during

what was he suspended? Why, for no other crime, than omitting to use the form of prayer prescribed in the communion book, when officiating in a Presbyterian congregation. And shall a meeting of Presbyterian ministers, pay any regard to a sentence which had such a foundation?"

The issue of the debate was, a rejecting of the motion by a vote, 27 to 13; and a resolution which was so exprest as to be a decent burial of it; laying no new restriction on ministers from inviting strangers, but leaving things precisely as they were before. And they who chose to give Mr. Whitefield their pulpits, never after met with any molestation. Upon the whole, the attacks made on Mr. Whitefield's character, proved the occasion of informing the Synod of the falsehood of many aspersions thrown out against him, of the great increase of his prudence and caution, and the remarkable change of his sentiments and behaviour, so far as either were offensive. And thus, what was intended for his reproach, turned out to his honour.

* Letter DCCXIV.

the winter. And in February 1749, made an excursion to Exeter and Plymouth, where he found a strange alteration in the people, since he had been first there, about five years before; they now received him with the greatest joy, and were importunate to hear him; and many of them gave proofs of a solid conversion to God.* "Now," says he, "Plymouth seems to be quite a new place to me." As his health was impaired in London, he loved to range (as he calls it) after precious souls. Though he never wanted to make a sect, or to set himself at the head of a party.

"I have seen enough of popularity," says he, "to be sick of it; and did not the interest of my blessed Master require my appearing in public,† the world should hear but little of me henceforward." Yet he could not think of remitting his diligence in the work of the Gospel. "I dread the thoughts of flagging in the latter stages of my road," is an expression that he often uses in writing to his friends.‡ He was frequently very ill; but he imagined preaching and travelling did him service. "Fear not your weak body," says he, in a letter to Mr. Hervey,§ "we are immortal till our work is done. Christ's labourers must live by miracle; if not, I must not live at all; for God only knows what I daily endure. My continual vomitings almost kill me, and yet the pulpit is my cure; so that my friends begin to pity me less,

* Letter DCCXXXIII. and MS. † Letter DCCXLVII.

‡ Letters DCCLXXXVII, DCCCXCVII, and DCCCCXXIII.

§ Letter DCCCXXX.

Much gratified by the general evidence of his ministerial success.

and to leave off that ungrateful caution, 'Spare thyself.' I speak this to encourage you."*

In March 1749, he returned to London from an excursion of about six hundred miles in the west, where he had the pleasure of seeing that his former visits had been blessed with abundant success.† In May he went to Portsmouth, and preached every day for more than a week, to very large and attentive auditories. Many were brought under convictions, prejudices seemed to be universally removed, and people, that a few days before were speaking all manner of evil against him, were very desirous of his longer stay to preach the Gospel‡ among them.

June 24, he writes from Bristol: "Yesterday God brought me here, after having carried me a circuit of about eight hundred miles, and enabled me to preach, I suppose, to upwards of a hundred thousand souls. I have been in eight Welsh counties, and, I think, we have not had one dry meeting. The work in Wales is much upon the advance, and likely to increase daily. Had my dear Mr. Hervey been there, to have seen the simplicity of so many dear souls, I

* About this time he wrote "Remarks on a Pamphlet, entitled The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared." Wherein (with a candour very uncommon in controversial writings) he says, "Several mistakes in some parts of my past writings and conduct are acknowledged, and my present sentiments concerning the Methodists explained." See Appendix for the Remarks at length.

† Letter DCCXLIII. ‡ Letter DCCLI.

Preaches at Newcastle, by the introduction of Mr. C. Wesley.

am persuaded he would have said, *Sit anima mea cum Methodistis.*"*

In the months of July and August he was at London, Bristol, Plymouth, Biddeford, and Exeter. When he returned to London, he had the pleasure of a visit from two German ministers, who had been labouring among the jews, and, it is said, had been made instrumental in converting many of them.†

In the month of September, he went into Northamptonshire and Yorkshire; and preached at Oundle, Abberford, Leeds, and Haworth, where good Mr. Grimshaw (who was so indefatigable in his endeavours to bring souls to Christ) was minister. In his church they had above a thousand communicants, and in the church-yard about six thousand hearers. At Leeds, the auditory consisted of above ten thousand. Thither Mr. Whitefield was invited by one of the Rev. Mr. Wesley's preachers, and by the societies. And Mr. Charles Wesley coming there, gave notice of him to the people,‡ and also introduced him to the pulpit in Newcastle, where he preached four times, and twice without doors.

It being now late in the year, he did not go forward to Scotland, but returned to London, after having preached about thirty times in Yorkshire, and above ten times in Cheshire and Lancashire. He was also at Sheffield and Nottingham. And the congregations were every where large and serious. Only in one or two places, he had a little rough treatment; but

* Letter DCCLXII. † Letter DCCLXXV.

‡ Letters DCCLXXVIII, DCCLXXIX.

this he did not mind, while he had reason to think many received real benefit.* He arrived in London about the middle of November, and continued there till the beginning of February, employed in his usual manner. Having offered to assist, occasionally, at West-street chapel, it was accepted. Accordingly, he preached four or five times there, and administered the sacrament twice or thrice. Congregations were very large.†

February 6, 1750, he writes from Gloucester,‡ "Though I left London in a very weak condition, and the weather was but bad, I came here on Friday-evening, and was strengthened to preach on Saturday, and likewise on Sunday-evening, and twice the same day in the country, at the New-house, and at Hampton." And again, from Bristol, February 12:—"Since I wrote last, we have been favoured, both in Gloucester city and in the country, with very pleasant and delightful seasons.§ I have preached about twenty times, within these eight or nine days; and, though frequently exposed to rain and hail, am much better than when I left London." From Bristol he went to Exeter and to Plymouth; and, in his way, met with the Rev. Mr. Pearsall, a dissenting minister, at Taunton, and Mr. Darracott, at Wellington; both of whom he speaks of in his Letters with the highest regard.‖ At Plymouth he

* Letter DCCLXXXI, DCCLXXXVI.
† Letter DCCCXIX.
‡ Letter DCCCXIV.
§ Letter DCCCXVI.
‖ Letter DCCCXX.

preached twelve times in six days, and the longer he preached, he had the greater number of hearers. His friends grew more zealous, and the fury of his enemies began to subside. From thence he travelled near to the Land's end, preaching in a great many places, such as Tavistock, St. Ginny's,* Port Isaac, Camelford, St. Andrew's, Redruth, Gwinnop, St. Mewens. All this he accomplished before the 21st of March, when we find him again at Exeter. "Invitations," (says he), "are sent to me from several places. I want more tongues, more bodies, more souls for the Lord Jesus. Had I ten thousand, he should have them all."†

In April he was at London and Portsmouth; and, in May, went to Ashby, to wait on Lady Huntingdon, who had been ill. In his way thither he had a most comfortable interview with the Rev. Dr. Doddridge, Mr. Hervey,‡ and Dr. ———. But, at

* "Four of Mr. Wesley's preachers were present, and three clergymen, Mr. Bennet, aged fourscore, Mr. Thompson, and Mr. Grigg." Letter DCCCXXIV. "I found, as I went along, a most blessed work had been carried on by the instrumentality of the Mr. Wesleys, and their fellow labourers." MS.

† Letters DCCCXXIV, XXV, and XXVI.

‡ Mr. Hervey thus wrote of this interview to a friend: "I have seen, lately, that most excellent minister of the ever-blessed Jesus, Mr. Whitefield. I dined, supped, and spent the evening with him, at Northampton, in company with Dr. Doddridge, and two pious ingenious clergymen of the church of England, both of them known to the learned world by their valuable writings. And, surely, I never spent a more delightful evening, or saw one that seemed to make nearer approaches to the felicity of heaven. A gentleman of great worth and rank in the town, invited us to

Ashby,* where it might have been least expected, there was a riot made before Lady Huntingdon's house, while the gospel was preaching: and, in the evening, some people, in their return home, narrowly escaped being murdered. The justice being informed, sent a message, in order to bring the offenders before him. "So that I hope," (says Mr. Whitefield), "it will be over-ruled for great good, and that the gospel, for the future, will have free course."†

After he left Ashby he preached at Radcliff church, Nottingham, and Sutton, with great success. "At Nottingham," (says he), "several came to me, inquiring what they should do to be saved? I preached there four times. One evening Lord S. and several gentlemen were present, and behaved with great decency; many thousands attended. Yesterday-morn-

his house, and gave us an elegant treat; but how mean was his provision, how coarse his delicacies, compared with the fruit of my friend's lips; they dropped as the honey comb, and were a well of life. Surely people do not know that amiable and exemplary man, or else, I cannot but think, instead of depreciating, they would applaud and love him. For my part, I never beheld so fair a copy of our Lord, such a living image of the Saviour, such exalted delight in God, such enlarged benevolence to man, such a steady faith in the divine promises, and such a fervent zeal for the divine glory; and all this, without the least moroseness of humour, or extravagancies of behaviour; sweetened with the most engaging cheerfulness of temper, and regulated by all the sobriety of reason, and wisdom of Scripture; insomuch that I cannot forbear applying the wise man's encomium of an illustrious woman, to this eminent minister of the everlasting gospel: '*Many sons have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all.*'"

* Letter DCCCXXXII. † Letter DCCCXXXV.

ing I breakfasted with three dissenting ministers, and Mr. P——s, who told me that Lady P—— desired he would press me to preach at the church. Yesterday, in the afternoon, I preached at Sutton: and, this morning, at Mansfield."* After leaving that place, he went to Rotherham and Sheffield. He was at Leeds in the end of May, and observes, "Methinks I am now got into another climate,† where there are many of God's people. From thence he went to Manchester, Rosindale, and several other parts of Lancashire, Kendal, Whitehaven, Cockermouth; preaching generally twice a-day, and arrived at Edinburgh, July 6th; having preached near a hundred times since he left London, and, by a moderate computation, to above a hundred thousand souls.—"It is amazing," (he writes) "to see how people are prepared, in places where I never was before. What shall I render to the Lord?"

At Edinburgh and Glasgow, (in which places he spent the month of July, 1750) he was received, as usual, in the most loving and tender manner, preaching, generally, twice a-day, to great multitudes, whose seriousness and earnest desire to hear him made him exert himself rather beyond his strength. "By preaching always twice," (says he), "and once thrice, and once four times in a day,‡ I am quite weakened; but I hope to recruit again. I am burn-

* Letter DCCCXXXVIII. † Letter DCCCXL, and XLIX.

‡ Letter DCCCLI, and LV.

ing with a fever, and have a violent cold; but Christ's presence makes me smile at pain, and the fire of his love burns up all fevers whatsoever." He left Edinburgh, August 3d, and soon found himself much better for riding. At Berwick, one of the ministers sent him an offer of his pulpit, and he was informed that many more round that town were willing to do the same. At his return to London, he preached several times at West-street chapel. He had also the pleasure of Mr. Hervey's company, who, at his desire, came up to town, and lodged in his house. In the months of September and October he made excursions to Portsmouth, Chatham, Gloucester, Birmingham, Eversham, Wednesbury, and Nottingham; "ranging about," (as he expresses it), "to see who would believe the gospel report."* And was particularly successful at Chatham and Canterbury.

He spent the winter in London, in his usual busy and laborious way, and with equal success. He was confined, near a fortnight, to his room, by a violent fever and inflammation of the lungs; but, before the 17th of December, he was able to preach again. And, in the latter end of January, 1751, he rode post to Ashby, being alarmed with the accounts of Lady Huntingdon's dangerous illness, and the afflictions with which it had pleased God to visit her family. He writes from Ashby, January 29—"Blessed be God, Lady Huntingdon is somewhat better. En-

* Letter DCCCLXVIII.

treat all our friends to pray for her. Her sister-in-law, Lady Frances H——, lies dead in the house. She was a retired Christian, lived silently, and died suddenly, without a groan. May my exit be like hers. Almost all the family have been sick in their turns."

Having left London, March 5, he went again into Gloucestershire, and to Bristol; and preached at Taunton and Wellington, in his way to Plymouth. April 11, he was at Exeter, and writes thus to Mr. Hervey:—"Some good, I trust, is to be done this spring, to many souls. This western circuit, I believe, has been blessed already. I have preached about forty times since I left London, and have been enabled several times to ride forty miles a-day. I find this sensibly refreshes me. I wish you could say so too. At Plymouth we had sweet seasons; and, on Tuesday last, I met with a young clergyman, who was awakened under my preaching seven years ago. He has been at Cambridge, and was ordained by the Bishop of Exeter. He is followed much, and, I suppose, will soon be reproached for his Master's sake. I hope you find strength to proceed in your book."

From Exeter he set out on a tour through Wales; where, in about three weeks, he rode near five hundred miles, and preached generally twice a-day; and from hence he made his visit to Ireland, which had been in his thoughts some time.

CHAP. XV.

From his first visit to Ireland, to his opening the New Tabernacle at London, in the Year 1753.

AFTER a passage of five days from Wales, he arrived May 24, 1751, at Dublin, where he was gladly received, and lodged at the house of Mr. L——, and preached every morning and evening, as usual, in other places:—"Surely," (says he), "here are many converted souls, among whom are two or three students, and several soldiers. At first* the greatness and hurry of the place surprised me; but, thanks be to the Lord of the harvest here, as well as elsewhere, the fields are white, ready unto harvest. Congregations are large, and hear as for eternity." And again: "Athlone, June 10.—For this week past I have been preaching twice almost every day, in some country towns. I find, through the many offences that have lately been given, matters were brought to a low ebb. But the cry now is, 'Methodism is revived again.'"† At Limerick he preached seven times to large and affected auditories, and twice at Cork (where the

* Letters DCCCXCI, DCCCXCII.

† In the MS. he says, "I took a journey from near Haverfordwest to Ireland, where a yet greater work had been begun and carried on to a high degree, amidst prodigious opposition; numbers converted, not only from popery, but to Jesus Christ, at Athlone, Dublin, Limerick, Cork, and various other places."

methodists had lately been insulted) to a great body of people, with all quietness. From thence he went to Bandon and Kinsale, where a like blessing attended his preaching. At his return to Cork the numbers and affections of his hearers increased. At Belfast also he was detained some days beyond his intention, by the people's importunity, and preached at Lisburn, Lurgun, the Maize, and Lambag, towns and places adjacent. So many attended, and the prospect of doing good was so promising, that he was sorry he had not come to the north of Ireland sooner. But he hastened to pay another visit to Scotland, before he embarked for America, which he was intent upon doing before winter.

He, therefore, came over in the beginning of July, 1751, from Belfast to Irvine, where, at the desire of the magistrates, he preached to a great congregation; and so proceeded to Glasgow. From this place he writes, July 12: "Though I preached near eighty times in Ireland, and God was pleased to bless his word, yet Scotland seems to be a new world to me. To see the people bring so many Bibles, turn to every passage when I am expounding, and hanging, as it were, upon me to hear every word, is very encouraging. I feel an uncommon freedom here; and talking with the winter as well as with the summer saints, feeds and delights my heart."* At this time he was

* Here it may be proper, once for all, to take notice of some particulars relating to Mr. Whitefield's visits to Scotland, which he continued till within a few years of his death.

Though, after the years 1741 and 1742, there was no such ex-

glad to understand that Mr. Dinwiddie, brother-in-law to the Rev. Mr. Mac Culloch, of Cambuslang, was made governor of Virginia. In that province there had been a considerable awakening for some

---

tensive new awakenings, Mr. Whitefield's coming was always refreshing to serious persons, and seemed to put new life into them, and also to be the means of increasing their number. His preaching was still eminently useful in various respects. In the first place, it had an excellent tendency to destroy the hurtful spirit of bigotry, and excessive zeal for smaller matters, and to turn men's attention to the great and substantial things of religion. Another effect was, that it drew several persons to hear the gospel, who seldom went to hear it from other ministers. Again, young people in general were much benefited by his ministry, and particularly young students, who became, afterwards, serious evangelical preachers. Lastly, his morning discourses, which were mostly intended for sincere but disconsolate souls, were peculiarly fitted to direct and encourage all such in the Christian life. And his addresses in the evening, to the promiscuous multitudes who then attended him, were of a very alarming kind. There was something exceedingly striking in the solemnity of his evening congregations, in the Orphan-house park, at Edinburgh, and High church-yard of Glasgow, especially towards the conclusion of his sermons (which were commonly very long, though they seemed short to the hearers), when the whole multitude stood fixt, and, like one man, hung upon his lips, with silent attention; and many under deep impressions of the great objects of religion, and the concerns of eternity. These things will not soon be forgotten; and, it is hoped, the many good effects, which, by the divine blessing, attended them, never will.

His conversation was no less reviving than his sermons. Many in Edinburgh and Glasgow were witnesses of this, especially at Glasgow, when, in company with his good friends, Mr. Mac-Laurin, Mr. Robert Scott, &c. one might challenge the sons of pleasure, with all their wit, good humour, and gaiety, to furnish entertainment so agreeable. At the same time, every part of it was not more agreeable than it was useful and edifying.

His friends in Scotland, among whom were many of all ranks,

years past, especially in Hanover county, and the places adjacent. As the ministers of the establishment did not favour the work, and the people had put themselves under the care of the New York

from the highest to the lowest, were very constant and steady in their great regard for him; and his opposers grew more and more mild. Some anonymous pamphlets were written against him at his first coming, but these soon died and were forgotten. Afterwards a number of stories were handed about to his disadvantage; but, upon inquiry, it was found either that matters were misrepresented or exaggerated; or, that there was no foundation for such reports at all. In short, when they were traced to their origin, they rather turned out to his honour. He used to smile at good Mr. Mac Laurin's honest zeal, who, on such occasions, spared no pains to come at the truth; and, when he had discovered it, was no less eager to communicate the discovery to others, for the vindication of Mr. Whitefield's character, in which he thought the credit of religion was concerned. The following instance is well remembered:—One Lieutenant Wright alleged, that Mr. Whitefield had kept back money, sent by a gentlewoman to her son, in America; this coming to Mr. Mac Laurin's ears, he was restless till he procured a meeting betwixt Mr. Whitefield and his accuser. They met; Mr. Wright did not retract what he had said. Upon which a letter was instantly wrote to the mother at London; and her answer being received a confutation of the calumny was published in the Glasgow courant, in the following terms:—"October 31, 1748. A story having been spread in this town, of Mr. Whitefield's having received twenty pounds sterling from a gentlewoman in London, to give to her son in Georgia; whereas he had received only three guineas, which he had returned to the gentlewoman, when he came back from Georgia, her son having been gone from thence before his arrival; a letter was wrote to London to clear up this affair, to which the gentlewoman has sent this answer:—'Sir, this is to assure you, that I received of Mr. John Stevens the three guineas, which was the full sum that I gave you for my son. I hope it is only a false aspersion on him; for I never heard that he should say any such thing, being three months in England.—I am, &c. September 13, 1748.' There is likewise a receipt come down, dated September 3, to Mr. Stevens.

synod, they met with discouragements from those in power. However, Mr. Samuel Davies (afterwards president of the college of New Jersey) being licensed, was settled over a congregation; and the religious concern so increased, that one congregation was multiplied to seven. There was now an agreeable prospect that these good people would have the same

---

Both the letter and receipt are to be seen in the hands of the publisher."

But, indeed, Mr. Whitefield's whole behaviour was so open to the eyes of the world; and his character, after it had stood many attacks from all quarters, came at last to be so thoroughly established, that several of his opposers in Scotland seemed rather to acquire a certain degree of esteem for him; at least, they all thought proper to give over speaking against him.

When he was at Glasgow, he always lodged with Mr. James Niven, merchant, above the Cross; till towards the end of his life, his asthmatic disorder made the town air disagree with him. And then he went out in the evenings, and stayed with his good friend, Mr. Mac Culloch, at Cambuslang.

A person of eminence, whom a sincere esteem of Mr. Whitefield made attentive to his reception and ministrations in Scotland, from first to last, writes thus to the compiler:—

"*Edinburgh, January*, 1772.

"I think more might be said with great justice, concerning the effects of his ministry in Scotland, after the first two years, as there was always a remarkable revival followed each of his visits; which many of the ministers testified from their particular knowledge, especially by the number of new communicants. Mention might be made of the great number of ministers in Scotland, that employed him, and of the many affectionate letters he received from them, of which there were a good many printed, both in the London and Glasgow Weekly Histories, from some of the most eminent men in the church, who had employed him to preach in their pulpits, and continued so to do, when opportunity offered; except in the presbytery of Edinburgh; and even there, the magistrates always allowed him a church to preach in, every time he came."

privileges secured to them which dissenting protestants enjoy at home.*

August 6th, he set out from Edinburgh for London, in order to embark a fourth time for America. He had thrown up much blood in Edinburgh; but the journey he was now upon had a good effect in recovering him from that illness; and, as he went along, he was much refreshed with the accounts he received of the happy fruits of his ministry, at Kendal, the year before. After a sorrowful parting with his friends in England, which grew still more distressing to him, he went aboard the Antelope, Captain MacLellan, bound for Georgia, with Germans; and took along with him several children.

He arrived at Savannah, October 27th, and found the Orphan-house in a flourishing condition.—— "Thanks be to God," (says he) "all is well at Bethesda. A most excellent tract of land is granted to me very near the house, which, in a few years, I hope, will make a sufficient provision for it."† From November, 1751, to the beginning of April, 1752, he was partly at Bethesda, and partly in South Carolina, still upon the stretch of his Master's work. "I intend," (says he) "by his assistance, now to begin; for as yet, alas! I have done nothing." And again: "O that I may begin to be in earnest! It is a new year; God quicken my tardy pace, and help me to do much work in a little time!—this is my highest ambition."‡

Being warned, by what had happened to him for-

* Letter DCCCCI. † Letter DCCCCXII. ‡ Letter DCCCCX, DCCCCXI.

merly, he did not venture to stay the summer season in America; but took his passage in the end of April, for London. At his arrival he perceived he had returned in a very good time; for Georgia was soon to be taken into the hands of government, and put on the same footing with other colonies, which gave ground to hope that it would soon become a flourishing province. This was joyful news. He now thought Providence was appearing for Georgia and Bethesda. He determined, therefore, to sell his plantation, and to carry all his strength to the Orphan-house.

About the middle of June, he planned a new rout. "Next week," (says he) "God willing, I shall go to Portsmouth, from thence to Bath, then to the west, then to Wales, and, from thence, may be, to Scotland and Ireland."* Accordingly, we find his letters of this period, dated at Portsmouth, Bristol, Cardiff, and Haverfordwest. In returning to Bristol, he attended an association, where were present about nine clergy, and near forty other labourers, of whom he writes:†—"I trust all are born of God, and desirous to promote his glory, and his people's good. All was harmony and love."

August 17th, he was in London. His letter of this date to his acquaintance Dr. F——, the celebrated electrical philosopher, deserves particular notice:—"I find you grow more and more famous in the learned world: as you have made a pretty considerable progress in the mysteries of electricity, I would

* Letter DCCCCXVII. † Letter DCCCCXXV.

now humbly recommend to your diligent unprejudiced pursuit and study, the mystery of the new birth. It is a most important interesting study, and, when mastered, will richly answer and repay you for all your pains. One, at whose bar we are shortly to appear, hath solemnly declared, that, without it, we cannot enter the kingdom of heaven. You will excuse this freedom; I must have *aliquid Christi* in all my letters."*

From London he took another tour to Edinburgh, where he arrived in the beginning of September, 1752. In his way he preached twice at Lutterworth (the famous John Wickliff's parish), and at Leicester; and, in both places, was informed, afterwards, that good was done. At Newcastle he was, as it were, arrested to stay, and preached four times to great congregations.

At Edinburgh and Glasgow (in which places he continued till the 10th of October), he was employed as usual. He writes from Glasgow, September 29th: "At Edinburgh great multitudes, among whom were abundance of the better sort, attended twice every day. Many young ministers and students have given close attendance; and I hear of several persons that have been brought under deep convictions. I intend to send you copies of two letters from a Highland schoolmaster, who is honoured of God to do much good among the poor Highland children.† I have brave news sent me from Leicester and Newcastle, and have strong invitations to Yorkshire and Lan-

* Letter DCCCCXXVI. † Letter DCCCCXXXI.

cashire. What a pity it is that the year goes round so soon."*

In his way back to London, he preached at Berwick, Alnwick, Morpeth, and Newcastle. From Sheffield he writes, November 1. "Since I left Newcastle, I have scarce known, sometimes, whether I have been in heaven or on earth. At Leeds, Burstall, Howarth, Halifax, &c. thousands and thousands have flocked twice or thrice a-day to hear the word of life. I am now come from Bolton, Manchester, Stockport, and Chinley. Yesterday I preached in a church.—Four ordained ministers, friends to the work of God, have been with me. The word hath run so swiftly at Leeds, that friends are come to fetch me back, and I am now going to Rotherham, Wakefield, Leeds, York, and Epworth. God favours us with weather, and I would fain make hay whilst the sun shines.—O that I had as many tongues as there are hairs on my head! the ever-loving, ever-lovely Jesus should have them all. Fain would I die preaching."

November 10th, he arrived at London, and proceeded in his usual way at the Tabernacle. Decem-

* In 1752, the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, upon a division of the house, by a few votes, deposed Mr. Gillespie; which afterwards gave occasion to the society called the Presbytery of Relief. Mr. Whitefield being informed of the circumstances of that affair, writes thus (Letter DCCCCXIV.) "I wish Mr. Gillespie joy. The pope, I find, has turned presbyterian.—The Lord reigns, that is enough for us." And again, (Letter DCCCCXX.) "Now will Mr. Gillespie do more good in a week, than before in a year. How blind is Satan! What does he get by casting out Christ's servants? I expect that some great good will come out of these confusions."

ber 15, he says, "My hands are full of work; and I trust I can say the Lord causes his work to prosper in my unworthy hands. More blessed seasons were never enjoyed. Our sacramental occasions have been exceedingly awful and refreshing."

He now began to think of erecting a new Tabernacle, a large building, eighty foot square; which he accomplished in the spring and summer following.

About this time also, we find Mr. Hervey and him employed in revising each other's manuscripts. Of Mr. Hervey's he says, "For me to play the critic on them, would be like holding up a candle to the sun. However, I will just mark a few places, as you desire. I foretell their fate; nothing but your scenery can screen you. Self will never bear to die, though slain in so genteel a manner, without shewing some resentment against its artful murderer." Again,†—"I thank you a thousand times for the trouble you have been at in revising my poor compositions, which, I am afraid, you have not treated with a becoming severity. How many pardons shall I ask for mangling, and, I fear, murdering, your *Theron and Aspasio*. If you think my two sermons will do for the public, pray return them immediately. I have nothing to comfort me but this, that the Lord chuses the weak things of this world to confound the strong, and things that are not, to bring to nought things that are. I write for the poor, you for the polite and noble; God will assuredly own and bless what you write."

He was much affected, about this time, with the

* Letter DCCCCXXXV, DCCCCXXXVI. † Letter DCCCCXV, DCCCCLXIII.

death of one Mr. Steward, a minister, who begun to be popular in the church, but soon entered into his rest. "When" he says "I met the workmen to contract about the building, I could scarce bear to think of building Tabernacles. Strange! that so many should be so soon discharged, and we continued. Mr. Steward spoke for his Lord, as long as he could speak at all. He had no clouds nor darkness. I was with him till a few minutes before he slept in Jesus."*

March 1, 1753, he laid the foundation of the new Tabernacle, and preached from Exod. xx. 24. During the building thereof, he preached in Moorfields, Spitalfields, and other places in London, and made excursions to Chatham, Sheerness, and Braintree.

In the month of April he went to Norwich for a few days, preaching twice a-day to thousands, who attended with the greatest eagerness. At his evening sermons some rude people made opposition, but without effect. At this time, also, he published his Expostulatory Letter to Count Zinzendoff, which is in the 4th volume of his works.

In May he made another excursion to Narboth, Pembroke, Haverfordwest, &c. where congregations were large, and a gracious melting seemed to be among the people. Within little more than a fortnight he rode three hundred and fifty miles, and preached above twenty times.†

Sunday, June 10th, 1753, he opened his new Tabernacle, preaching, in the morning, from 1 Kings viii. 11. and, in the evening, from 1 Chron. xxix. 9.

* Letter DCCCCLXVIII. † Letter DCCCCLXXVI.

CHAP. XVI.

From his opening the New Tabernacle in Moorfields, to his preaching at the Chapel in Tottenham-court-road, 1756.

Mr. Whitefield having preached in London at his Tabernacle for a few days with his usual fervor and success, and to large congregations, in the end of the month of June, set out towards Scotland. In his way, he had desirable meetings at Oulney and Northampton. He preached also at Leicester, and Nottingham, where a great multitude came to hear, and at Sheffield. In his way to Leeds, next morning, he preached at Rotheram and Wakefield. At the former place he had been disturbed twice or thrice, and was almost determined to preach there no more. But he* found this would have been a rash determination; for some who had been bitter persecutors, now received him gladly into their house, and owned that God had made him instrumental in their conversion. At Leeds he had great success. At York also he preached four times. Twice they were disturbed, and twice had very agreeable seasons. At Newcastle, he preached seven times, and once at Sunderland to great multitudes, who were deeply impressed. At five in the morning the great room was filled, and, on the Lord's day, the congregation without was exceeding large. In short,

* Letter dccccl.xxxiv.

Makes a short stay in Scotland, and returns.

the prospect all around was so promising, that he almost repented of his engagement to go to Scotland, and resolved to come back as soon as possible.

He proceeded, however, according to his promise, and having spent some days at Edinburgh and Glasgow, in his usual laborious and earnest manner, and with usual acceptance, he returned to England, August 7.*

All this time he preached twice or thrice a-day, and once five times. This he found rather too much for his strength. But he still went on, often expressing his desires and hopes soon to see his divine Master in glory.

On his return to England, he went from Newcastle to Stockton, Osmotherly, York, and Leeds. He assisted at the sacrament at Howarth, where they had

* After he had been in Glasgow, the following paragraph appeared in the Newcastle Journal, August 11, 1753:—"By a letter from Edinburgh, we are informed, that, on the 2d instant, Mr. Whitefield, the Itinerant, being at Glasgow, and preaching to a numerous audience near the play-house lately built, he inflamed the mob so much against it, that they ran directly from before him, and pulled it down to the ground. Several of the rioters are since taken up, and committed to gaol."

It would not have been worth while to transcribe this, were it not another specimen of the unaccountable liberties taken by some of the opposers of Mr. Whitefield, in telling their stories concerning him. The fact was this: Mr. Whitefield being informed that the players had lately come to Glasgow, and had met with some encouragement, took occasion in his sermons to preach against playhouses, and to represent their pernicious influence on religion and morality, especially in a populous, commercial city, and the seat of a University. But there was no riot. It was the proprietor of the playhouse (at that time a slight temporary booth, supported by the old walls of the Bishop's castle,) who ordered his workmen to take it down.

a very extraordinary season, and a vast number of communicants. He went as far as Bolton, Manchester, and Stockport. The more he preached, the more eager the people seemed to be. The last part of his circuit was to Lincolnshire, Rotherham, Sheffield, Nottingham, and Northampton. He returned to London in the latter end of September, having travelled above 1200 miles, and preached 180 times to many thousands.*

His stay in London was but short; for, in the month of October he took another tour to Staffordshire. A new scene of usefulness seemed to open to him, while he preached at Oulney, at Oxen, near Harborough, Bosworth, Kettering, and Bedford; at all which places he preached in one week. At Birmingham also, and several adjacent places, the people flocked to hear the gospel. At a place near Dudley, called Guarnall, he was informed of a whole company that were awakened by reading his sermons.† He met with others awakened years ago, and heard of a notorious persecutor and drunkard, who had been powerfully struck. He loved to break up new ground, as he expresses it; and had the pleasure to find sometimes that his way was prepared by the blessing which God had given to his writings, particularly at Alperam in Cheshire, and at Liverpool, where a person that had received benefit by reading his sermons, met him at landing, and took him to his house. All was quiet here, and at Chester, where he preached four times, and had several of the clergy in

* Letter DCCCCXCII. † Letter DCCCCXCVI.

his congregations. But, at Wrexham and Nantwich, (where a Methodist meeting-house had lately been pulled down) he was disturbed by the mob, and forced to remove his congregation to a place a little out of town.*

Thus he went on, returning at times for a few days to London. And November 16th, writes from Gloucester, "After Lord's-day, I am bound for Bristol and Plymouth, and hope to get into my winter-quarters some time before Christmas. Glad should I be to travel for Jesus all the year round. It is more to me than my necessary food.†

On Sunday, November 25, he opened the new Tabernacle at Bristol, which he observes "was large, but not half large enough; for, if the place could contain them, near as many would attend as in London." He also preached twice, in his brother's great house, to the quality. Though it was so late in the year, he set out for Somersetshire, and preached several times in the open air, at seven o'clock at night. "My hands and body," says he, "were pierced with cold; but what are outward things, when the soul within is warmed with the love of God? The stars shone exceedingly bright: by an eye of faith, I saw Him who calleth them all by their names. My soul was filled with a holy ambition, and I longed to be one of those who shall shine as the stars for ever and ever."‡ At this time, his friend and fellow-labourer, the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, had, by his extraordinary labours, brought his life into great danger, of which

* Letter DCCCCXCVII. † Letter DCCCCXCIX. ‡ Letters MIV, MV.

Embarks for America, and stops at Lisbon on his way.

Mr. Whitefield thus writes* "Bristol, December 3, 1753. I am now hastening to London, to pay my last respects to my dying friend. The physicians think his disease is a galloping consumption. I pity the church, I pity myself, but not him. Poor Mr. Charles will now have double work. But we can do all things through Christ strengthening us!" His letters to both the brothers on this occasion are very affectionate and sympathizing.† And he soon had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Wesley recover. December 26, he had a visit from Messrs. Tennent and Davies from America, who came over to procure contributions for the college of New Jersey. As they were commissioned to apply for a general collection in Scotland, he gave them recommendatory letters, and heartily endeavoured to promote their design. He stayed in London all the winter of 1753,‡ longing for a spring campaign (as he expresses it), that he might begin to do something for his divine Master.

March 7th, 1754, having got twenty-two poor destitute children under his care, he embarked with them for America, by way of Lisbon, where he stayed from the 20th of March to the 13th of April.

From Lisbon he writes:§ "The air agrees with

* Letter MV. † Letter MVI, MVII, and MVIII.

‡ His letters written about the beginning of the new year, shew the habitual frame of his mind. "Near forty years old, and such a dwarf! The winter come already, and so little done in the summer." Again, "I heartily wish your Lordship, not the compliments, but the blessings, of the season; even all those blessings that have been purchased for a lost world, by the death and sufferings of an incarnate God." Letters MXV, MXVI.

§ Letter MXXIX.

Much shocked by some exhibitions of Popish superstition.

my poor constitution extremely, and, through divine assistance, I hope what I see will also much improve my better part, and help to qualify me better for preaching the everlasting gospel: again a gentleman hath most gladly received me into his house, and behaves like a friend indeed. To-day I dine with the Consul. Every day I have seen or heard something, that hath had a native tendency to make me thankful for the glorious Reformation."* After a sight of some popish processions, which were new and very striking to him, he says, "I returned to my lodgings not a little affected, to see so many thousands led away from the simplicity of the gospel, by such a mixture of human artifice and blind superstition, of which, indeed, I could have formed no idea, had I not been an eye-witness."† He was still more shocked at the procession of St. Francis; and most of all at the sight of near 200 penitents passing along the streets in a moon-shine night, dragging along heavy chains fastened to their ancles, which made a dismal rattling, most of whom whipped and lashed themselves with cords, and with flat bits of iron; and some of them struck so hard, that their backs were quite red, and very much swelled. He wrote a description of this to his friend,‡ with expressions of praise and gratitude to Providence, for the great wonder of the Reformation, and for delivering Britain from the return of such spiritual slavery, by defeating the unnatural rebellion. "Blessed be God," says he, "the snare is broken, and we are delivered. O for Protestant

* Letters MXXX, MXXXII. † Letter MXXXV. ‡ Letter MXXXVI.

practices to be added to Protestant principles." He further observes, "The preachers here have also taught me something; their action is graceful, *Vividi oculi, vividæ manus, omnia vivida.* Surely our English preachers would do well, to be a little more fervent in their address. They have truth on their side; why should superstition and falsehood run away with all that is pathetic and affecting?"* His two last letters from Lisbon† contain a long and lively description of the superstitious farces which he saw acted on Holy Thursday, as they call it, and Good Friday; which he concludes with very serious reflexions, and expressions of pity towards the poor deluded people, who are not allowed to examine matters by the word of God.

After a passage of six weeks from Lisbon, he arrived at Beaufort, in South Carolina, May 27, with his Orphan charge, all quite well. Having settled them in his family in Georgia, which now consisted of above a hundred, and spent some time in Carolina, he took a journey to the northward. "At Charles-Town" says he, "and other parts of Carolina, my poor labours have met with the usual acceptance, and I have reason to hope a clergyman hath been brought under very serious impressions. My health is wonderfully preserved. My wonted vomitings have left me; and, though I ride whole nights, and have been frequently exposed to great thunders, violent lightnings, and heavy rains, yet I am rather better than usual, and, as far as I can judge, am not yet to die. O that I may, at length, learn to begin to live. I am

* Letter MXXXVII. † Letters MX., MXLI.

ashamed of my sloth and lukewarmness, and long to be on the stretch for God."* He arrived at New York, by water, July 27, and preached backwards and forwards from New York to Philadelphia, and Whitely Creek, till the middle of September. "Every-where," he observes, "a divine power accompanied the word, prejudices were removed, and a more effectual door opened, than ever, for preaching the gospel."† The latter end of September, he had once more the pleasure of seeing his good old friend, Governor Belchier, at Elizabeth Town (New Jersey.) And it being the New Jersey commencement, the President and the Trustees presented Mr. Whitefield with the degree of A.M. The meeting of the synod succeeded, before whom he preached several times, and had much satisfaction in their company. "To-morrow," says he, "October 1, God willing, I shall set out with the worthy President (Mr. Burr) for New England, and expect to return back to the Orphan-house, through Virginia. This will be about a two thousand mile circuit; but the Redeemer's strength will be more than sufficient." He had also some thoughts of going to the West Indies, had it been practicable, before his return to England.‡

He arrived with President Burr at Boston, October 9, and preached there a week with great acceptance. "At Rhode Island and Boston," says he, "souls fly to the gospel, like doves to the windows. Opposition seems to fall daily." When he was at Boston, he

* Letter MXLVIII. † Letter MLX. ‡ Letter MLXI.

The churches opened to him at Virginia.

heard, to his great joy, that a Governor was, at length, nominated for Georgia, and that his friend, Mr. Habersham, was made secretary; to whom he writes, "May the King of kings enable you to discharge your trust, as becomes a good patriot, subject, and Christian!"* At this time, he went as far north as Portsmouth (New Hampshire) preaching always twice, and sometimes thrice a-day: his reception at Boston was more favourable than that fourteen years before; and in general his labours seemed to be attended with as great a blessing as ever.† He took leave of the Boston people at four in the morning, November 7th, and went to Rhode Island; from thence through Maryland ‡ and Virginia, where the prospect of doing good was so promising, that he was sorry he had not come sooner. Many came forty or fifty miles to hear him; and a spirit of conviction and consolation seemed to run through all the assemblies. Three churches were opened to him. Prejudices subsided; some of the rich and great began to think favourably of his ministrations; and several of the lower class came to him, and acknowledged what God had done for them by his preaching, when there before.§

In the month of February, 1755, he got back to Charles-Town, and from thence went to Savannah; continuing in these places till the latter end of March,

* Letters MLXII, MLXIV.

† Letter MLXVIII.

‡ "At length I have got into Maryland, and into a family, out of which, I trust, five have been born of God." Letter MLXX.

§ Letters MLXXI, MLXXIV.

when he embarked for England: and, on the 8th of May, arrived at Newhaven in Sussex.*

The first thing he took notice of was, the success of the gospel in his native country: "Glory be to the great Head of the Church! the word hath still free course. The poor despised Methodists are as lively as ever; and, in several churches, the gospel is now preached with power. Many in Oxford are awakened to the knowledge of the truth, and I have heard almost every week of some fresh Minister or another, that seems determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ, and him crucified.† This consideration seems to have re-animated him. He went on preaching earnestly at London, Bristol, Bath, and in Gloucestershire, till the month of August. Then he went to Norwich, and opened the Tabernacle there. "At this last place," says he, "notwithstanding offences have come, there has been a glorious work begun, and is now carrying on, (August 30, 1755.) The polite and great seem to hear with much attention, and I scarce ever preached a week together with greater freedom."‡

After this he went his northern circuit, and found reason to bless God for giving countenance to his labours all the way; particularly at Northampton, Liverpool, Bolton, Manchester, Leeds, Bradford, and

* Letter MLXXVII.

† Letters MLXXXI, MLXXXII. In the MS. he puts down the names of Jones, Romaine, Madan: of whom it appears he intended to have written more particularly.

‡ Letter MXCV.

York.* But when he had been some days at Newcastle, he found it too late to go to Ireland, (as he once proposed) or even to Scotland: he returned therefore to London, October 30th, after preaching twice and thrice a day for two months, to many thousands. At this time, he says, "Next to Jesus, my king and country were upon my heart. I hope, I shall always think it my bounden duty, next to inviting sinners to the blessed Jesus, to exhort my hearers to exert themselves against the first approaches of Popish tyranny, and arbitrary power.† O that we may be enabled to watch and pray, against all the opposition of Antichrist in our hearts; for, after all, there lies the most dangerous man of sin."‡ About the end of November, he preached in pain, occasioned by a sore throat, which was like to have terminated in an inflammatory quincey. This obliged him, much against his will, to be silent a few days. As soon as the danger seemed to be over, he fell to work again.§ He was now applied to by many serious persons, to preach twice a week at Long-acre chapel, near the play-houses. Being informed that the place

* At York, I hope, a fine gentleman was touched; and several, I find, were awakened there, and at Newcastle, at my last visit." Letter MCII.

† This refers to the encroachments made by the French upon the British colonies in America; and their threatening Great Britain with an invasion; which occasioned a declaration of war against France next year.

‡ Letters MCIV, MCV.

§ "One physician prescribed a *perpetual blister*, but I have found *perpetual preaching* to be a better remedy. When this grand catholicon fails, it is over with me." Letter MCXIV.

Preaches there, and is disturbed by hired rioters.

was licensed, he complied, and preached there for the first time, on December 23, 1755; but met with great difficulties. The Bishop of B——— sent him a prohibition. There was also a number of soldiers, drummers, and many of the lower sort of the people, hired to disturb him, by making a noise in the neighbouring house, or yard, of one Mr. C——; and this not once or twice, but every time he preached at that chapel; being hired by subscription, and provided with a copper furnace, bells, drums, clappers, &c. they made it their business to raise the loudest din they possibly could, from the moment he began preaching to the end of his sermon. By which also, mobbers were encouraged to come and riot at the chapel-door, during the time of divine service, and then insult and abuse him, and the congregation, after it was over. The chapel windows, while he was preaching, were repeatedly broken by large stones, which sadly wounded some of the hearers. Upon this occasion, Mr. Whitefield wrote several spirited letters to the Bishop of B——, acknowledging, indeed, his Lordship's candor, and thanking him for his favourable opinion and good wishes; (for the Bishop had wrote an answer to his first letter) but, at the same time, with great strength of reason, and a becoming sense of British liberty, defending his own conduct, and remonstrating against the riotous proceedings of his adversaries. "Last Tuesday night," says he, "all was hushed: and, in order to throw off all popular odium, I gave it as my opinion, that it was owing to your Lord-

ship's kind interposition. One Mr. C. and one Mr. M. I am informed, are greatly concerned. I know them not; and I pray the Lord of all lords never to lay this ill and unmerited treatment to their charge. If no more noise is made on their part, I assure your Lordship, no further resentment shall be made on mine. But, if they persist, I have the authority of the Apostle on a like occasion, to appeal unto Cæsar. And thanks be to God, we have a Cæsar to appeal to, whose laws will not suffer any of his loyal subjects to be used in such an inhuman manner. I have only one favour to beg of your Lordship, that you would send (as they are your Lordship's parishioners) to the above gentlemen, and desire them, henceforward, to desist from such unchristian, (and especially, at this critical juncture) such riotous and dangerous proceedings. Whether as a Chaplain to a most worthy Peeress, and a Presbyter of the Church of England, and a steady disinterested friend to our present happy constitution, I have not a right to ask such a favour, I leave to your Lordship's mature deliberation."* In the mean time, his preaching was owned by God: particularly as to one, who had been a subscriber to hire men to make the noise.†

In the beginning of February, 1756, he sent eighty pounds of the collection which he had made at the Tabernacle, on the day of the public fast, to the

* Letters MCXII, MCXVII, MCXIX, MCXX, MCXXII, MCXXIV.

† Letter MCXVI.

His life is threatened by anonymous letters.

Society for relieving the poor persecuted French Protestants.*

As the uproar was still continued at Long-acre chapel, and the facts were so flagrant, he was advised to prosecute the offenders by law. This being understood, his life was threatened. A man came up to him, in the pulpit at the Tabernacle,* and three anonymous letters were sent him, denouncing a certain, sudden, and unavoidable stroke, unless he desisted from preaching, and pursuing the offenders. Judging that others were concerned as well as himself, and that it was an affair that had reference to the welfare of civil government, he sent a copy of one of the letters to the Honourable Hume C——ll, begging the favour of his advice; and was advised, by all means, to put all concerned into the Court of King's Bench.† The Earl of Holderness, (one of the secretaries of state) to whom he was introduced on this occasion, received him very courteously, and seemed to have no objection against issuing a reward for the discovery of the letter-writer. "I find," says Mr. Whitefield, in his letter to Lady Huntingdon, May 2, 1756, "that all things happen for the furtherance of the Gospel. I suppose, your Ladyship has seen his Majesty's promise of a pardon, to any that will discover the letter-writer; and this brings the further news of my having taken a piece of

* Letter MCXVIII. This year, 1756, he published "A Short Address to Persons of all Denominations, occasioned by the Alarm of an intended Invasion." See Vol. IV. of his Works.

† Letter MCXXIX. ‡ Letters MCXXVII, MXXIX.

ground, very commodious to build on, not far from the Foundling-hospital. I have opened the subscription, and, through God's blessing, it hath already amounted to near six hundred pounds. I hope, in a few months, to have what hath been long wanted, a place for the Gospel, at the other end of the town. This evening, God willing, I venture once more to preach at Long-acre." The place he here speaks of, is the chapel in Tottenham-court-road, which he began to build May 10, 1756.

After this he set out on one of his wonted tours, and having spent three weeks in preaching, with usual success, at Bristol, and in Gloucestershire, at Bradford, Frome, Warminster, and at Portsmouth,* he returned to London in the beginning of June.

July 27th, he writes, "The Gospel flourishes in London. I am just returned from preaching it at Sheerness, Chatham, and in the camp." Next day he set off for Scotland.† How he employed his time in his way thither, appears from the following extract of a letter, dated Sunderland, August 14th, 1756,—"How swiftly doth my precious time fly away! It is now a fortnight since I came to Leeds, in and about which, I preached eight days, thrice almost every day, to thronged and affected auditories. On Sunday last at Bradford, in the morning, the auditory consisted of about ten thousand; at noon, and in the evening at Burstall, to near double the number. Though hoarse, I was helped to speak so, that all heard. Next morning, I took a sorrowful

* Letter MCXXXIX. † Letter MCXLV.

leave of Leeds, preached at Doncaster at noon, and at York the same night; on Wednesday at Warstall, about fifty miles off; on Thursday, twice at Yarm, and last night and this morning here." All the way he heard of a great concern, since he was in these parts last year.

Upon pressing invitations from friends in the North, he proceeded to Edinburgh, where he arrived August 20th, and preached there* and at Glasgow, as usual, till September 22d; about which time he received a message from the new Governor of Georgia in London, desiring to see and converse with him before he embarked.†

In his way to London, he again visited Leeds, and went some days into good Mr. G—— and Mr. J——'s round, preaching upon the mountains to many thousands. But finding his last year's disorder was like to return, he was obliged to leave off, and came to London in the end of October; and, November the 7th, opened his new chapel in Tottenham-court-road, preaching from 1 Cor. iii. 11.‡

* "*Edinburgh, September* 9, 1756.—For near these three weeks, the Rev. Mr. Whitefield hath been preaching in the Orphan-hospital park to very crowded auditories, twice every day. As he was frequently very explicit in opening the miseries of Popish tyranny, and arbitrary power; and very warm in exhorting his hearers to loyalty and courage at home, and in stirring them up to pray for the success of his Majesty's forces, both by sea and land abroad, we have reason to believe, that his visit at this juncture hath been particularly useful." *Glasgow Courant.*

"*Edinburgh, September* 23.—On Tuesday evening, the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, after sermon, made a collection for the poor Highlanders, when upwards of sixty pounds sterling was collected." *Ibid.*

† Letter MCXLVIII.

‡ Letter MCXLIX and MS.

CHAP. XVII.

From his Opening his Chapel in Tottenham-court-road, to his Arrival in Edinburgh, in the Year 1759.

His constant work was now preaching about fifteen times a-week, which, with a weak appetite, want of rest,* and much care lying upon his mind, enfeebled his body exceedingly. "But" says he "the joy of the Lord is my strength, and my greatest grief is, that I can do no more for him, who hath done and suffered so much for me."†

His new chapel succeeded according to his wish. On Sunday mornings, hundreds went away, not being able to get in.‡ Some people of distinction came, and begged they might have a constant seat; and he received a very serious letter, from a person who was brought under concern there, though he came at first out of curiosity, to see what sort of place it was.§

In spring, 1757, he set out again on his northern circuit, and came to Edinburgh in the month of May, when the general assembly of the church of

---

* "I could enlarge, but it is near six in the morning, and I must away to preach." Letter MCLVI.

† Letter MCLIII. ‡ Letter MCLVII.

§ Letters MCLVI.-LVII. "A neighbouring doctor calls the place, Whitefield's soul-trap. I pray the friend of sinners, to make it a soul-trap indeed, to many wandering creatures." Letter MCLVII. —— S——, the player makes always one of the auditory, and, as I hear, is much impressed, and brings others with him." Letter MCLXIII.

Invited by the King's Commissioner to his Table.

Scotland held their annual meeting. He was much pleased with this circumstance. Many ministers attended his sermons, perhaps a hundred at a time. Thereby prejudices were removed, and many of them seemed to be deeply affected. About thirty of them, as a token of respect, invited him to a public entertainment. The King's commissioner also invited him to his table.* Thousands, among whom were a great many of the best rank, daily attended his ministrations, and the longer he stayed, the more the congregations increased.†

From Edinburgh he went to Glasgow, where, having preached twice by the way, he arrived June 8, and continued till the 14th preaching, as usual, in the High Church-yard, to great multitudes, morning and evening; besides on the Lord's-day, both forenoon and afternoon, in one of the churches of the city. The poor in Glasgow being at this time in very mournful circumstances, notwithstanding the various sources of supply, he (with the countenance of the magistrates) made a collection for them, at his sermon on Monday evening, which amounted to near sixty

* Some of the Scotch clergy, who were prejudiced against Mr. Whitefield, took upon them to signify to the commissioner (Lord C-thc-rt), by some of their friends, that it would be better not to invite Mr. Whitefield to his table; and that it would give offence. This overture his Grace received with indignation.

The Earl of L—— also, who was King's commissioner before Lord C-thc-rt, shewed particular attention to Mr. Whitefield: And, from the time of his first coming to Scotland, shewed a great and constant regard for him.

† Letter MCLXVII.

pounds. Next day he preached at Paisley; and from thence set out for Ireland.

His first reception was promising as formerly. Congregations, at Dublin, were very large, and much affected. One of the bishops told a nobleman (who repeated it to Mr. Whitefield), that he was glad he was come to rouse the people. All sorts attended, and all sorts seemed to be struck with a religious concern.* But, on Sunday afternoon, July 3, after preaching in Oxman-town-green, (a place frequented by the Ormond and Liberty boys, as they call them, who often fight there) he narrowly escaped with his life. It being war time, he took occasion to exhort his hearers (as was his usual practice) not only to fear God, but to honour the King; and prayed for success to the King of Prussia. In the time of sermon and prayer a few stones were thrown at him, which did no hurt. But when he had done, and thought to return home, the way he came, by the barracks, to his great surprise access was denied; and he was obliged to go near half a mile, from one end of the green to the other, through hundreds of papists, &c. who finding him unattended (for a soldier, and four preachers who came with him, had fled), threw vollies of stones upon him from all quarters, and made him reel backwards and forwards, till he was almost breathless, and all over a gore of blood.† At last, with great difficulty, he staggered

* Letter MCLXVIII- LXIX.

† "I received many blows and wounds; one was particularly large, and near my temples. I thought of Stephen, and was in

to the door of a minister's house, lying next the green, which was kindly opened to him. For a while he continued speechless and panting for breath; but his weeping friends having given him some cordials, and washed his wounds, a coach was procured, in which, amidst the oaths, imprecations, and threatnings of the popish rabble, he got safe home; and joined in a hymn of thanksgiving with his friends, by whom, he says "none but spectators could form an idea of the affection with which he was received." Next morning he set out for Port Arlington, "leaving" says he "my persecutors to his mercy, who of persecutors has often made preachers. I pray God I may thus be avenged of them."*

After preaching at Port Arlington, Athlone, Limerick, and Cork; in the beginning of August he returned to England; and while the weather permitted, continued to range (as he expresses it), preaching with great earnestness every where. "This spiritual hunting (says he) is delightful sport, when the heart is in the work.†" At Plymouth, he had the pleasure of seeing officers, soldiers, sailors, &c. attending his sermons with the utmost solemnity. In Exeter also, Bristol, Gloucester, and Gloucestershire, he had delightful seasons. About the middle of October, 1757, he returned to London.

His attendance this winter in both the chapel and

---

hopes, like him, to go off in this bloody triumph, to the immediate presence of my master." Letter MCLXX.

* Letter MCLXX. † Letter MCLXXIV.

the Tabernacle, together with his thoughtfulness, greatly impaired his health. He was troubled with continual vomitings, got little sleep, and had no appetite. Still, however, he went on as well as he could. "I am brought, now"* says he, "to the short allowance of preaching but once a-day, and twice on a Sunday." But when he was not preaching he was projecting some scheme or other for the advancement of religion: for instance, the building of alms-houses for pious widows, on the ground that surrounded his chapel. "I have a plan" says he "for twelve. The whole expence will be four hundred pounds. I have got a prospect of two. I propose allowing each widow half-a-crown a-week. The sacrament-money will more than do. If this be effected, many godly widows will be provided for, and a standing monument left that the Methodists were not against Good Works."† It was not long till this plan was put in execution. The foundation of the alms-houses was laid February 16, 1758, and the widows began to be admitted in June following.

He began his summer circuit this year at Gloucester: from thence he went to Bristol, and then to Wales. When he was in Wales, he was brought very low in his health. He was not able to sit up in company as he used to do; and could take very little food. Yet continued travelling and preaching twice a-day, through various towns in South Wales, where multitudes attended; on Sundays the numbers were almost incredible.‡

* Letter MCLXXXVII. † Letters MCLXXXVII, MCLXXXIX.

‡ Letters MCCIII, MCCVI.

Leaves London on his way for Scotland.

In the month of July he set off for Scotland. In his way he preached at Everton, St. Neots, Kayso, Bedford, Oulney, Weston, Underwood, Ravenstone, Northampton, and Newcastle. Four clergymen lent him their pulpits. His bodily strength increased so little by this journey, that he sometimes had thoughts of turning back. But this he did not think to be his duty. "Through divine strength" says he, "I hope to go forward, and shall strive, as much as in me lies, to die in this glorious work."* Yet it pleased God to restore his health in a good measure, soon after his arrival in Scotland. From Edinburgh he writes, August 19 and 24. "For these four months last past, I have been brought so exceeding low in my body, that I was in hopes, every sermon I preached would waft me to my wished-for home. Scotland, I hoped, would finish my warfare; but it has rather driven me back to sea again. On Tuesday next, I thought to have moved; but, as it is race-week, and my health is improving, friends advise me to stay, to stir them up to run with patience the race that is set before us."†

* Letter MCCIX.

† "Edinburgh, September 14, 1758. Mr. Whitefield's presence, at this time, has been particularly useful to the Orphan-Hospital, for which upwards of two hundred pounds hath been raised from the collection at the doors, and seat-rents. Before he left Glasgow, he made a collection for the Glasgow Charitable Highland Society, for supporting and educating poor Highland children; a scheme particularly useful at this time, when so many of their parents and friends are abroad in America, in his Majesty's service. During his stay here, he has had occasion to preach three thanksgiving sermons, for the victory at Crevelt, the taking of Cape Breton, and the late defeat of the Russians. By his warm

Having left Edinburgh, September 13, he preached in a great many places in the north of England, Alnwick, Newcastle, Durham, Bishop-Auckland, Leeds, &c. and came to London about the end of October.

He now talked of going over again to America, where his affairs were in a good situation: "Blessed be God" says he, "that I can send you word, a never-failing Providence hath put it into my power to pay off all Bethesda's arrears. I am talking every day of coming over; but how to do it in war time, or how to get the Chapel and Tabernacle supplied, I cannot as yet be clear in."* Not being able, it seems, to get over these difficulties, he continued all winter, 1758, in London, and, about the middle of May, 1759, opened his spring campaign at Bristol. In the month of June he was in Gloucestershire and Yorkshire, where people, high and low, rich and poor, flocked, as usual, to hear him, twice a-day;† and from thence re-visited Scotland.

---

and repeated exhortations to loyalty, and a steady adherence to the protestant interest, on this, and all other occasions, it must be acknowledged, even in this view, his visit here has been useful to the community in a civil, as well as a religious light." *Glasgow Courant.*

* Letters MCCXIX, MCCXX.

† "I am growing fat; but, as I take it to be a disease, I hope I shall go home the sooner." Letter MCCXXV.

CHAP. XVIII.

From his Arrival at Edinburgh, 1759, to his Opening Lady Huntingdon's Chapel, at Bath, in the Year 1765.

ABOUT the beginning of July, 1759, he came to Edinburgh, his congregations here and at Glasgow were very large, and very attentive, as formerly.* But he complains in his letters, "that with respect to the power of religion, it was a dead time in Scotland in comparison with London, and several other parts of England.†"

His visit to Scotland this year, gave occasion to a passage, which was much for his honour, and a full confutation of the mercenary motives ascribed to him by some of his adversaries. One Miss Hunter, a young lady of considerable fortune, made a full

* "Edinburgh, August 15, 1759. On Tuesday morning, the Rev. Mr. Whitefield set out on his return for England. It is said, that here and at Glasgow, within these six weeks he has preached near a hundred times, and yet the congregations were always increasing. Whatever this be owing to, every body must judge for themselves: but it is certain he continually exerted all his rhetoric in stirring up a zeal for his God, his king, and his country, in this time of danger; and seemed particularly pleased, as were thousands more, that he had an opportunity last Lord's Day-evening, of preaching a thanksgiving sermon to a most thronged auditory, on account of the glorious victory lately vouchsafed to Prince Ferdinand over the French.

"The sum collected for the benefit of the Orphan-Hospital, during his stay here, amounted to two hundred and fifteen pounds."

† Letters MCCXXVI-XXVIII.

offer to him of her estate, both money and lands, amounting to about seven thousand pounds, which he generously refused; and, upon his refusing it for himself, she offered it to him for the benefit of his Orphan-house in Georgia. Which he also absolutely refused. These facts the compiler has from undoubted authority.

He spent the winter in London,* and got his chapel enlarged.

March 14th, 1760, he made a collection at his Chapel and Tabernacle, of above four hundred pounds, for the distressed Prussians, who had suffered so much from the cruelty of the Russians, at Newmark, Costrin, &c.†

In summer, 1760, he went into Gloucestershire and Wales, and from thence to Bristol. When he preached at the Tabernacle in Bristol, there were more in the evenings than it could well hold; and, in the fields, his congregations consisted of not less than ten thousand.‡

He now began to undergo a new kind of persecution (which, however, has sometimes fallen upon men of the greatest eminence) that of being mimicked and burlesqued upon the stage.§ His enemies had in vain

* October, 1759, he wrote a preface to Mr. Samuel Clark's Bible. See his Works, Vol. IV.

† For this disinterested act of benevolence, it is said, he received the thanks of his Prussian majesty.

‡ Letter MCCXXXVII.

§ The compiler is uncertain as to the time when this was first done. Mr. Whitefield first takes notice of it in his letter, dated August 15, 1760. It seems to have taken its rise from the re-

Ineffectually ridiculed by Foote, in his farce called the 'Minor.'

used violence against him, and having found that the law would not suffer them to proceed in that way, they, therefore, thought they would try what they could do by mockery. For this purpose they got for their tool one Samuel Foote, a mimic, who having had some success in imitating Mr. Whitefield's person, and speaking a few ludicrous sentences in his manner, was encouraged to proceed further, and to write a farce (called the Minor), to be acted at the theatre in Drury-lane.* This performance is otherwise very dull and uninteresting; but, by its impiety, it cannot fail of exciting the indignation of the religious and sober-minded. For, in order to expose Mr. Whitefield to contempt, the author makes no scruple to treat the very expressions and sentiments of the Bible with ridicule; or, (to put the most favourable construction upon the matter) he, and those whom he sent to the Tabernacle and chapel to procure materials, were so little acquainted with the sacred writings, as not to know that what they took for Mr. Whitefield's peculiar language, was the language of the word of God.† Be this as it may, they

sentment of the play-house people, after they failed in their attempt to frighten him from preaching at Long-acre chapel, and were farther exasperated by seeing him erect a chapel of his own in Tottenham-court-road.

* See a Letter to David Garrick, Esq. occasioned by the intended representation of the Minor at Drury-lane Theatre, said to be written by the Rev. Mr. Madan.

† Mr. Foote being manager of the Edinburgh Theatre, in winter, 1770, the Minor was acted there. The first night it was pretty throng, as people fond of any novelty were led to it without knowing any thing of the nature of the performance. But

Makes a large collection for the distressed Protestants in Prussia.

lost their labour, for they were so far from lessening the number of his congregations, that they increased them, and brought thousands of new persons to hear the gospel; which was the very thing he always aimed at; and thus Providence gave him the victory over them.

March 14th, 1760, he preached at the chapel, from Hos. 8, 9. and, at the Tabernacle in the evening, from the 80th Psalm, and last verse. At the former place he collected two hundred and twenty-two pounds, eight shillings, and nine-pence; and, at the other, one hundred and eighty-two pounds, fifteen shillings, and nine-pence, for the distressed Protestants in

(such was the public sense of the impurity and indecency of it when known), that, on the second night, only ten women appeared. When it was acted on Saturday, November 21, a dispute arose among the spectators, whether it was proper to bring Mr. Whitefield upon the stage, as he was now dead? This, however, was done; and raised a general indignation in the inhabitants of that city. Next day several ministers (the Rev. Dr. Erskine, Dr. Walker, &c.) took notice of it in their discourses from the pulpit. Dr. Walker (whose church is frequented by the people of higher rank) observed, in his lecture upon 2 Cor. v. 14—21. that he could not read the 17th verse, "if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature," without expressing the just indignation he felt, upon hearing that, last night, a profane piece of buffoonery was publicly acted, in which this sacred doctrine is ridiculed.—Mr. Baine, of the Kirk of Relief, preached a sermon upon the occasion, December 2, from Psalm xciv. 16. which was published and sold off in a few days. Towards the conclusion of the sermon he says, "How base and ungrateful is such treatment of the dead; and that too, so very nigh to a family of Orphans, the records of whose hospital will transmit Mr. Whitefield's name to posterity with honour, when the memory of others will rot. How illiberal such usage of one, whose seasonable good services for his king and country are well known; whose indefatigable labours for his beloved Master were countenanced by heaven."

Prussia. No man was a more strict observer of public occurrences, or more endeavoured to improve them.

In the months of September and October, 1760, he made a tour through Yorkshire; and was in London during the winter, employed as usual. On the Fast-day, February 13, 1761, he preached early in the morning at the Tabernacle, on Exod. xxxiv. 1, &c. and collected one hundred and twelve pounds; in the forenoon he laboured at the Chapel, and *discoursed* on Joel ii. 15. and, afterwards, collected two hundred and forty-two pounds; and, in the evening, he preached at the Tabernacle, from Gen. vii. 1. and collected two hundred and ten pounds. These sums were immediately applied to the noble purposes for which they were collected, the relief of the German Protestants, and the sufferers by fire at Boston.*

But his health, which had often been very bad,†

* Four hundred pounds were assigned to the Germans, and given into the hands of the Rev. Mr. Ziegenhagen. Letters MCCXLI, XLII, XLVI.

"*Boston, February* 27, 1764.

"At a meeting of the freeholders, and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, on Friday last, it was voted, unanimously, that the thanks of the town be given to the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, for his charitable care and pains in collecting a considerable sum of money in Great Britain, for the distressed sufferers by the great fire in Boston, 1760; and a respectable committee was appointed to wait on Mr. Whitefield, to inform him of the vote, and present him with a copy thereof."—*Boston Gazette.*

† It was happy for him, that he frequently got the assistance of clergymen from the country; and, at this time, particularly of the Rev. Mr. Berridge, late Moderator of Cambridge, of whom he writes (Letter MCCXLIII, XLV.) "A new instrument is raised

Prevented from preaching by a serious illness.

now grew worse and worse, so that in April, 1761, he was brought to the gates of death. After his recovery, being still exceedingly weak, and not able to preach as formerly, he left London, and made a visit to Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth, by which he found himself somewhat better; but could not bear long journies and frequent preaching, as he used to do.*

October, 1761, he complains, "I have not preached a single sermon for some weeks. Last Sunday I spoke a little; but I feel its effects ever since. A sea voyage seems more necessary to me now than ever. I know, now, what nervous disorders are. Blessed be God, that they were contracted in his service; I do not repent—though I am frequently tempted to wish the report of my death had been true, since my disorder keeps me from my old delightful work of preaching."† In a journey to Leeds and Newcastle, this month, he could bear riding in a post-chaise, but preached seldom, his friends being so prudent as not to press him to it: "I hope, however," says he, "I am travelling in order to preach."‡ Accordingly, he prolonged his journey the length of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and did not return to London till the month of December; when he found himself considerably better, which, (under God) he

up, out of Cambridge university. He has been here preaching with great flame, and like an angel of the churches indeed."—The compiler is informed, that the Rev. Mr. Berridge, at Everton, still continues zealous and successful.

* Letter MCCL. The MS. (which, after the year 1748, contains only very short and imperfect hints), ends here.

† Letter MCCLII, LIII, LIV. ‡ Letter MCCLV.

attributed to his following the simple prescriptions of four eminent physicians in Edinburgh; being sensible, as he said, that their advice had been more blessed, for his recovery, than all the medicines and directions he had elsewhere.*

As soon as his health was in some measure restored, he fell to his beloved work again. From Bristol, April, 1762, he writes, "Bristol air agrees with me. I have been enabled to preach five times this last week, without being hurt. Who knows but I may yet be restored so far as to sound the gospel-trumpet for my God? The quietness I enjoy here, with daily riding out, seems to be one very proper means."† He continued thus to preach four or five times a-week, notwithstanding his weakness, till about the middle of May; and, was sometimes enabled to "take the field," as he expresses it, which gave him great joy; "Mounts," says he, "are the best pulpits, and the heavens the best sounding boards. O for power equal to my will! I would fly from pole to pole, publishing the everlasting gospel of the Son of God."‡ When he returned to London, the cares and labours that thronged upon him were ready to bring him low again. In the month of July, therefore, he made a voyage to Holland,§ and found himself so much the better for it, that he writes from Norwich, July 31st—"The expedition to Holland was, I trust, profitable to myself and others; and, if ever my usefulness is to be continued at London, I must be prepared for it by a

* Letter MCCLIX. † Letters MCCLX, LXI.

‡ Letter MCCLXV. § He preached at Rotterdam four times.

longer itineration both by land and water. At present, blessed be God, I can preach once a-day; and it would do your heart good to see what an influence attends the word. All my old times are revived again."*

August 18, he arrived at Edinburgh, made a visit to Glasgow, where he preached every day (and twice at Cambuslang), and continued preaching once a-day at Edinburgh till September 13, when he returned to England; and was glad (now that peace was expected) of the prospect of embarking soon for America.

While in England, he found that preaching once a-day did not hurt him, but dared not venture oftener. At Leeds, Bristol, and Plymouth he had very desirable seasons; but with respect to London, he says,† "As affairs are circumstanced, every thing there tends to weigh me down." Having therefore persuaded some of his intimate friends, as trustees, to take upon them the whole care of the affairs of his Chapel and Tabernacle, and all his other concerns at home; he resolved to sail from Greenock in Scotland. On his way thither, in the month of March, 1763, he preached at Everton, Leeds, Aberford, Kippax, and Newcastle; and was also employed in writing his Observations, &c. in answer to Bishop Warburton.‡

When he came to Scotland, he continued to preach once a-day, for some weeks; but being taken ill of his old disorder at Edinburgh, he was obliged to be

* Letter MCCLXVII. † Letter MCCLXXIV.

‡ Letter MCCLXXVIII, LXXIX. See his Works, Vol. IV.

silent (for the most part) for near six weeks afterwards. At last, in the beginning of June, he embarked the sixth time for America, in the ship Fanny, Captain Archibald Galbreath, bound from Greenock to Virginia; where (after a voyage of twelve weeks) he arrived in the latter end of August.*

His letters in September, October, and November, 1763, are dated from Philadelphia. He found himself still an invalid; yet made a shift to preach twice a-week. "Here," says he, "are some young bright witnesses rising up in the church. Perhaps I have already conversed with forty new-creature ministers of various denominations. Sixteen hopeful students, I am credibly informed, were converted at New-Jersey college last year. What an open door, if I had strength! Last Tuesday we had a remarkable season among the Lutherans; children and grown people were much impressed."†

He wanted much to go forward to Georgia, but the physicians were absolutely against it, till he got more strength. In the latter end of November, he set out from Philadelphia, for New York, and on his way preached several times at New-Jersey college, and

* "——— Thanks to a never-failing Redeemer, I have not been laid by an hour through sickness, since I came on board. A kind captain, and a most orderly and quiet ship's company, who gladly attended when I had breath to preach. Scarce an oath have I heard upon deck—and such a stillness through the whole ship, both on week-days and the Lord's-day, as hath from time to time surprised me." Letter MCCXC.

† Letter MCCXCIV.

Preaches, with much Encouragement, at New York.

Elizabeth Town, with much acceptance. His spirits now grew better, and he could sometimes preach thrice a-week.* While he continued at New York, during the winter, he writes, "Prejudices in this place have most strangely subsided. The better sort flock as eagerly as the common people, and are fond of coming for private gospel conversation.——Congregations continue very large, and I trust saving impressions are made upon many."†

After leaving New York he preached at East Hampton, Bridge-Hampton, and South-Hold, upon Long-Island; at Shelter-Island also; and at New-London, Norwich, and Providence on the main land. Then proceeded to Boston, where he arrived in the latter end of February, 1764, and was received with usual warmth of affection.‡ But as the small-pox

* Letter MCCXCVIII.

† Letter MCCCII, MCCCIII. "New York, January 23, 1764. The Rev. Mr. George Whitefield has spent seven weeks with us, preaching twice a-week to more general acceptance than ever; and been treated with great respect by many of the gentlemen and merchants of this place. During his stay, he preached two charity sermons; the one on the occasion of the annual collection for the poor, in which double the sum was collected that ever was upon the like occasion; the other was for the benefit of Mr. Wheelock's Indian-school, at Lebanon, in New England, for which he collected (notwithstanding the present prejudices of many people against the Indians) the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds. In his last sermon he took a very affectionate leave of the people of this city, who expressed great concern at his departure. May God restore this great and good man (in whom the gentleman, the christian, and accomplished orator shine forth with such peculiar lustre) to a perfect state of health, and continue him long a blessing to the world, and the church of Christ." *Boston Gazette.*

‡ Letter MCCCIV.

was spreading through the town, he chose to preach for a-while in the adjacent places. At Newbury a great influence attended his preaching. He writes from Concord, to his friend Mr. S—S—, "How would you have been delighted to have seen Mr. Wheelock's Indians? Such a promising nursery of future missionaries, I believe, was never seen in New England before; pray encourage it with all your might. I also wish you could give some useful puritanical books to Harvard college library, lately burnt down.†

In the month of April he had a return of his disorder; but it did not long keep him from preaching: and the Boston people were exceedingly eager to hear. He was thinking to proceed immediately southward, but they sent after him, and persuaded him to come back. June 1, 1764. He writes,

† Letter MCCCV. Some years after the gentlemen of Harvard-college expressed their gratitude to Mr. Whitefield by the following vote. "At a meeting of the president and fellows of Harvard-college, August 22, 1768. The Rev. Mr. George Whitefield having, in addition to his former kindness to Harvard-college, lately presented to the library, a new edition of his journals, and having procured large benefactions from several benevolent and respectable gentlemen, voted:

"That the thanks of the corporation be given to the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, for these instances of candour and generosity."

Present,

The PRESIDENT.	*Mr.* APPLETON.
Mr. PROFESSOR WINTHROP,	*Dr.* ELIOT,
Dr. COOPER,	TREASURER HUBBARD.

A true Copy per

Edward Holyoke,
President.

Great respect paid him at Philadelphia.

"Friends have even constrained me to stay here, for fear of running into the summer's heat. Hitherto I find the benefit of it. Whatever it is owing to, through mercy I am much better in health than I was this time twelve months, and can now preach thrice a-week to very large auditories, without hurt. And every day I hear of some brought under concern. This is all of grace."*

After a very sorrowful parting, he left Boston, and came back to New York, from whence his letters are dated from the end of June till the latter end of August. "At present," says he, "my health is better than usual, and as yet I have felt no inconvenience from the summer's heat. I have preached twice lately in the fields, and we sat under the blessed Redeemer's shadow with great delight. My late excursions upon Long Island, I trust, have been blessed. It would surprise you to see above one hundred carriages at every sermon, in this new world."†

In September and October he was at Philadelphia; the provost of the college there read prayers for him. Both the present and late governor, with the principal gentlemen of the city attended, and thanks were sent to him from the trustees, for speaking for the charity-children, and countenancing the institution.‡

From Philadelphia he proceeded southward through Virginia. And November 22, at New Brunswick, in Carolina, he writes, "At Newburn, last Sunday,

* Letter MCCCXI. † Letters MCCCXII, MCCCXIII, MCCCXV.
‡ Letter MCCCXVIII.

good impressions were made. From that place to this I have met with what they call New Lights,* almost every stage. I have the names of six or eight of their preachers. This, with every other place, being open and exceedingly desirous to hear the gospel, makes me almost determine to come back early in the spring."

After preaching at Charlestown, he arrived at Savannah, in December, where he found affairs prospering to his wish: "The colony," says he, "is rising fast; nothing but plenty at Bethesda, and all arrears, I trust, will be paid off before I leave it; so that in a short time I hope to be free from these outward encumbrances."† And he was not disappointed in his expectations; for he writes, "Bethesda, January 14, 1765. God hath given me great favour in the sight of the governor, council and assembly. A memorial was presented for an additional grant of lands, consisting of two thousand acres. It was immediately complied with. Both houses addressed the governor in behalf of the intended college. As warm an answer was given.‡ Every heart seems to leap for joy at the prospect of its future utility."§—— Again, "Bethesda, February 13.‖ Yesterday morn-

* A name given to those who favoured the revival of religion under the ministry of Mr. Whitefield, Mr. Tennent, &c.—Letter MCCCXIX.

† Letter MCCCXXI.

‡ See the memorial, address and answer, in Vol. III. of his Works, page 469, &c.

§ Letter MCCCXXII. ‖ Letter MCCCXXIV.

The plan of his College meets with general Approbation.

ing the governor and Lord J. A. G———n, with several other gentlemen, favoured me with their company to breakfast. But how was my Lord surprised and delighted! After expressing himself in the strongest terms, he took me aside and informed me, that the governor had shewed him the accounts, by which he found what a great benefactor I had been; that the intended college would be of the utmost utility, to this and the neighbouring provinces; that the plan was beautiful, rational, and practicable; and that he was persuaded his Majesty would highly approve of, and also favour it, with some peculiar marks of his royal bounty."*

Having left Bethesda, in such comfortable circumstances, February 18,† he delayed his proposed tour to the northward, and thought it best to embark directly for England, to finish the affair about the college. He spent some time, however, at Charles Town, in the month of March, and, after a very affectionate parting, set out for Philadelphia, preach-

* He adds, in the same letter, "Now farewell, my beloved Bethesda; surely the most delightfully situated place in all the southern parts of America. What a blessed winter have I had! Peace, and love, and harmony, and plenty reign here. Mr. W—t hath done much in a little time. All are surprised at it. But he hath worked night and day, and not stirred a mile for many weeks."

† "Thanks be to God, all outward things are settled on this side the water. The auditing the accounts, and laying a foundation for a college, hath silenced enemies, and comforted friends. The finishing this affair confirms my call to England, at this time." Letter MCCCXXIX.

ing, as he went along, in several places:* but no ship offering at Philadelphia, he sailed from New York in the Earl of Halifax packet, and arrived once more in England, July 5, 1765.†

After his arrival he found himself still very weak in body, and obliged to go on much more slowly than he used to do. Yet this did not discourage him from doing what he could, in hopes of soon entering into his rest. "O to end life well!" says he, "Methinks I have now but one more river to pass over. And we know of one that can carry us over, without being ankle-deep."‡

October 6, he was called to open Lady Huntingdon's chapel at Bath,§ when he preached from 2 Cor. vi. 16.

---

*"All along from Charles-Town, to this place, (Newcastle), the cry is, 'For Christ's sake stay and preach to us.' O for a thousand lives to spend for Jesus!" Letter MCCCXXIX.

† "We have had but a twenty-eight days passage. The transition hath been so sudden, that I can scarce believe that I am in England. I hope, ere long, to have a more sudden transition into a better country." Letter MCCCXXXI. [When he arrived at London, July 21, he was very ill of a nervous fever.]

‡ Letter MCCCXXXIII.

§ "The chapel is extremely plain, and yet equally grand. A most beautiful original. All was conducted with great solemnity. Though a very wet day, the place was very full. I preached in the morning, Mr. Townsend in the evening." Letter MCCCXXXVII.

Expresses great satisfaction at the repeal of the Stamp act.

CHAP. XIX.

From his opening Lady Huntingdon's Chapel at Bath, to his embarking for America, in the Year 1769.

AFTER preaching some little time at Bath, he returned to London, from whence, January 18, 1766, he writes* to a friend at Sheerness, "I am sorry to acquaint you, that it is not in my power to comply with your request. For want of more assistance, I am confined in town with the care of two important posts, when I am only fit to be put into some garrison among the invalids." But he was relieved, for a little space, early in the spring; for we find him in the month of March at Bath and Bristol.

March 17, he says, "The uncertainty of my motions hath made me slow in writing; and a desire to be a while free from London cares, hath made me indifferent about frequent hearing from thence. Last Friday evening, and twice yesterday,† I preached at Bath to very thronged and brilliant auditories."

About this time, the Stamp Act was repealed; on which occasion, he greatly exulted. The interest of the colonies always lay near his heart, and he hoped this step would restore peace and happiness to his country. In his letter-book is the following sentence, "March 16, 1766. Stamp act repealed, *Gloria Deo.*"

Mr. Occum, an Indian preacher, and Mr. Whitaker,

* Letter MCCCXXXIX. † Letter MCCCXL.

came over from America to solicit contributions for Mr. Wheelock's Indian-school, an institution which Mr. Whitefield greatly approved. Concerning this he writes,* "London, April 25. The prospect of a large and effectual door opening among the heathens, blessed be God, is very promising. Mr. Occum is a settled, humbled Christian: the good and great, with a multitude of a lower degree, heard him preach last week at Tottenham-court-chapel, and felt much of the power and presence of our common Lord. Mr. R——n hath preached, and collected 100*l.* and I believe 7 or 800*l.* more are subscribed. The truly noble Lord D——h espouses the cause most heartily, and his Majesty is become a contributor. The King of kings and Lord of all lords will bless them for it."†

June 19, we find him at Collam, near Bristol, from whence‡ he writes: "As my feverish heat continues, and the weather is too wet to travel, I have complied with the advice of friends, and have commenced a hot-well water-drinker twice a-day. However, twice this week, at six in the morning, I have been enabled to call thirsty souls to come and drink of the water of life freely. To-morrow evening, God willing, the call is to be repeated, and again on Sunday."

He was also at Bath and Bristol in the month of November this year. At Bristol he preached to a

* Letter MCCCXLI.

† Mr. Occum and Mr. Whitaker came afterwards to Scotland, and preached at Edinburgh and Glasgow, where they got very considerable contributions; particularly from Mr. Sprewll's family in Glasgow, and from the Rev. Mr. M'Culloch at Cambuslang.

‡ Letter MCCCXLV.

very crowded auditory, (though the weather was exceedingly bad) and administered the sacrament; and at Bath he preached to the most numerous assembly of the nobility he had ever seen attend there.

In the month of January, 1767, he wrote a recommendatory preface to a new edition of Bunyan's Works; which is inserted with his Tracts, in Vol. IV. and March 20, he was called to open Lady Huntingdon's new chapel at Brighthelmstone, in Sussex, when he preached on 2 Peter iii. 18.

After an excursion to Norwich, in April 1767, he says, "I fear my spring and summer fever is returning. If so, my intended plan of operations will be much contracted. But future things belong to Him who orders all things well."*

Yet, the very next month, we find him preaching at Rodborough, Gloucester, and Haverford-West, in Wales; from whence he writes, May 31, "Thousands and thousands attended by eight in the morning. Life and light seemed to fly all around. On Tuesday, God willing, I am to preach at Woodstock; on Friday at Pembroke; here again next Sunday by eight, and then for England.†" And when he returned to Gloucester, June 10, "Blessed be God," says he, "I am got on this side the Welch mountains. Blessed be God, I have been on the other side. What a scene last Sunday! What a cry for more of the bread of life; but I was quite worn down."‡

September 11. He was at Leeds, having preached at Northampton and Sheffield in the way: and, Sep-

* Letter MCCCLII. † Letter MCCCLVII. ‡ Letter MCCCLIX.

tember 20, at Newcastle, from whence he writes,* "I have now a blessed Methodist field-street-preaching plan before me. This afternoon in the Castle Garth, to-morrow for Sunderland, then to Yarm, &c. &c.——I have been enabled to preach in the street at several places, and hope to go to Gesborough, Whitby, Scarborough, New-Malton, York, Leeds, Liverpool, Chester, Manchester, &c."——Again, (from Thirsk, September 28.) "My body feels much fatigued in travelling; comforts in the soul overbalance."——And (Leeds, October 3) "Field and street-preaching hath rather bettered than hurt my bodily health."

This winter his negociations about the intended college at Bethesda came to an issue. A memorial, addressed to his Majesty, was put into the hands of the clerk of the privy-council, setting forth the great utility of a college in that place to the inhabitants of the southern provinces, and praying that a charter might be granted upon the plan of the college at New Jersey. This memorial was by him transmitted to the Lord President, and by his lordship referred to the consideration of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom also a draft of an intended charter was presented by the Earl of D——h. Upon which an epistolary correspondence ensued betwixt the Archbishop and Mr. Whitefield; the sum of which was, the Archbishop put the draft of the charter into the hands of the Lord President, who promised to consider it; and gave it as his opinion, that—"The head

* Letters MCCCLXIV, MCCCLXV, MCCCLXVI, MCCCLXIX.

of the College ought to be a member of the church of England. That this was a qualification not to be dispensed with. And also that the public prayers should not be extempore ones, but the liturgy of the church, or some other settled and established form." Mr. Whitefield answered, he could not agree to either of these restrictions, because the greatest part of the Orphan-house collections and contributions came from dissenters; and because he had frequently declared the intended college was to be founded upon a broad bottom, and no other. "This," says he, "I judge I was sufficiently warranted to do, from the known, long-established, mild, and uncoercive genius of the English government; also from your Grace's moderation towards Protestant Dissenters; from the unconquerable attachment of the Americans to toleration principles, as well as from the avowed habitual feelings and sentiments of my own heart. This being the case, and, as your Grace, by your silence, seems to be like-minded with the Lord P——t; and as your Grace's and his Lordship's influence will, undoubtedly, extend itself to others, I would beg leave, after returning all due acknowledgments, to inform your Grace, that I intend troubling your Grace and his Lordship no more about this so long depending concern. As it hath pleased the great Head of the church, in some degree, to renew my bodily strength, I purpose now to renew my feeble efforts, and turn the charity into a more generous, and, consequently, into a more extensively useful channel. I have no ambition to be looked upon as the founder

of a college; but I would fain act the part of an honest man, the disinterested minister of Jesus Christ, and a truly catholic, moderate presbyter of the church of England."*

Accordingly he resolved, in the mean time, to add a public academy to the Orphan-house, like what was done at Philadelphia before its college-charter was granted; and to wait for a more favourable opportunity of making fresh application for a charter upon a broad bottom.

October 28, he preached, at the Tabernacle, to the Society for promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor, when the collection amounted to above 100*l.* (about four times as much as usual) and eighty persons became new subscribers.†

In the beginning of the year 1768, six pious students were expelled from Edmund-hall, in Oxford, for using extempore prayer, reading and singing hymns,

* See his Works, Vol. III. p. 472. 484, where the steps he took in this affair are more fully narrated in a letter to Governor Wright—and Letter MCCCLXXVII, in which he complains to his intimate friend, Mr. K——n, "None but God knows what a concern lies upon me now, in respect of Bethesda. As another voyage, perhaps, may be the issue and result of all at last, I would beg you, and my dear Mr. H——y to let me have my papers and letters, that I may revise and dispose of them in a proper manner. This can do no hurt, come life, or come death."

† His text was Luke xi. 2. *Thy kingdom come.* The place was quite full, and many went away for want of room. A great number of dissenting ministers were present; probably, more than ever before met to hear a church clergyman preach. He afterwards dined with the ministers, and whole company at Draper's-hall, where he was treated with great respect. All was very harmonious, and gave him great pleasure in reflection. See Letter MCCCLXXV.

Mr. Whitefield writes to the Vice-Chancellor on that subject.

and exhorting one another in private religious meetings. Upon this occasion, Mr. Whitefield wrote his letter to Dr. Durell, Vice-chancellor of the University.*

* We here present the Reader with an extract, which, we trust, will be, in no small degree, gratifying, as containing Mr. Whitefield's Portrait of a *Methodist*, and definition of *Methodism*.

"It is notorious and obvious to all intelligent persons, that the grand cause of these young men's expulsion was this, namely, that they were either real or reputed Methodists. An honour this, indeed, unwittingly put on Methodists, whoever or whatever they be; since scarce any now a-days can pray extempore, sing hymns, go to church or meeting, and abound in other acts of devotion, but they must be immediately dubbed Methodists. I say, dubbed Methodists; for it is not a name given to them by themselves, but was imposed on them by some of their fellow-students and cotemporaries in the University.

"I take it for granted, Reverend Sir, that you need not be apprized that I am one of these Methodists; and, blessed be God, I have had the honour of being one of them for about thirty-five years. If this is to be vile, may I be more vile! If this be my shame, upon the most mature and serious reflection, I really glory in it. But then, lest any more innocent youths should hereafter suffer barely for the imputation of a nick-name, give me leave simply and honestly to inform you, Reverend Sir, and through you the whole University, what, not barely a reputed but, a real Methodist is: "*He is one of those whom God hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour; wherefore they, who be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, are called according to God's purpose by his spirit working in due season: they, through grace, obey the calling; they be justified freely; and made the sons of God by adoption: they are conformed to the image of his only begotten Son Jesus Christ; they walk religiously in good works; and, at length, by God's mercy, they attain everlasting felicity.*" This is the true portrait of a Methodist, drawn at full length, drawn to the very life, and that too not by an ignorant modern dauber, but by those good old skilful scriptural limners, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, in the seventeenth article of our church; an article that deserves to be

Visits Edinburgh for the last time.

In the summer, he went once more to Edinburgh, where his Orphan-house-park congregations were as large, attentive, and affectionate as ever.

written in letters of gold; and yet, for holding of this very article in its literal grammatical sense, agreeably to his subscription at the time of matriculation, one of these young students, as we have been informed, was expelled. If our information be wrong in this or any other respect, the nation may soon be set right, by an authentic publication of the whole judicial proceedings.

"If you should desire, Reverend Sir, a definition of Methodism itself, as well as of a Methodist, you may easily be gratified. It is no more nor less than "*Faith working by Love. A holy method of living and dying, to the glory of God.*" It is an universal morality, founded upon the love of God shed abroad in the heart by the Holy Ghost: or, to keep to the exact terms made use of in the last collect of our excellent liturgy, it is "*The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost;*" which we cannot go to church or chapel on Sundays, holidays, or other common days, without praying, not that it may be *driven from*, but be *with us* all evermore."*****

"But may we not imagine, that this very act of expulsion will be a means of furthering and promoting its progress far and near? To speak my own thoughts, I am fully persuaded, that if such unscriptural methods of stopping this enthusiasm be pursued further, it will be only like the cutting off the Lyrnean head; instead of one, an hundred will spring up.

Indeed, if the picture of modern enthusiasts, drawn up and presented to the public by your Right Reverend Diocesan, be a just and proper one, supposing, at the same time, the Methodists are thereby referred to, no matter how soon they are banished out of the University, and out of the church also—for his Lordship is pleased to tell us "That they act in direct opposition to the perverse Pharisees of old; these ascribed the works of the Holy Ghost to Beelzebub; and it is no uncommon thing for these modern enthusiasts, adds his Lordship, to ascribe the works of Beelzebub to the Holy Spirit." Surely his Lordship, by these modern enthusiasts, cannot mean those who apply for holy orders, and profess before men and angels, that "they are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost, to take upon them the office and adminis-

Preaches the funeral sermon on the death of Mrs. Whitefield.

August 3, soon after his return to London, Mrs. Whitefield was attacked with an inflammatory fever, and the 9th of August she died. The 14th of the month he preached her funeral sermon, from Rom. viii. 20: and September 12, he writes, "I have been in hopes of my own departure. Through hard riding and frequent preaching, I have burst a vein. The flux is, in a great measure stopped; but rest and quietness are strictly enjoined. We were favoured with glorious gospel-gales this day fortnight, and several preceding days, at opening good Lady Huntingdon's chapel, and place of pious education in Wales."*

September 26th, he writes concerning his friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. Middleton: "He is now made perfectly whole. He was buried from the Tabernacle last Wednesday evening, and a subscription is opened for his four orphans. In the midst of his torturing pains, being asked by his daughter how he was, he answered, 'A heaven upon earth.' Soon afterwards, he fell asleep in Jesus."

From his letters dated in November and December,

tration of the church;" when the Searcher of hearts knows that they are moved only by secular views and worldly hopes of preferment."

* From his memorandum book. "August 24, 1768. Opened good Lady Huntingdon's chapel and college, in the parish of Talgarth, Brecknockshire, South Wales.—Preached from Exodus xx. 24. 'In all places where I record my name, I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee.'—August 25. Gave an exhortation to the students in the College-chapel, from Luke i. 15. 'He shall be great in the sight of the Lord.'—"Sunday, August 28. Preached in the court before the college, (the congregation consisting of some thousands) from 1 Cor. iii. 11. 'Other foundation can no man lay, than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.'"

it appears he was in a very poor state of health, yet still continued to preach, as often as he was able.

"Bristol, November 12. Last night, I hope, the Redeemer manifested forth his glory. Friday evening, and the following Sunday, I shall preach at Bath. In three weeks I expect to reach London, except called before that period, to reside at the New Jerusalem. The pleasing prospect lies day and night open before me."

Next spring, 1769, he seems to have recovered a little; for we find him preaching more frequently. It gave him great pleasure to see some more of the nobility joined to Lady Huntingdon's society. "Some more coronets, I hear, are likely to be laid at the Redeemer's feet. They glitter gloriously when set in, and surrounded with, a crown of thorns."

In the month of May he preached at Kingswood, Bristol, Bradford, Frome, Chippenham, Rodborough, Castlecomb, Dursley; but deferred his western circuit, on account of the opening the chapel at Tunbridge.

July 23d, 1769, he opened Lady Huntingdon's New Chapel at Tunbridge Wells. Preached from Genesis xxviii. 17. "This is none other but the House of God, and this is the Gate of Heaven." In the evening, the congregation being too large to be contained in the chapel, he preached out of doors, from a mount in the court before the chapel; after which, he gave a general exhortation: and next day administered the sacrament, and preached from 1 Thess. ii. 11, 12.

Now he seriously began to prepare for another voyage; and, in the beginning of September, he embarked the seventh and last time for America.

Embarks the seventh and last time for America.

CHAP. XX.

From his last embarking for America, to his Death, September 30, 1770.

Mr. Whitefield was detained near a month in the Downs by contrary winds;* but he improved his time, as usual, in writing many excellent letters, preaching on board; and sometimes came ashore and preached, both at Deal and Ramsgate.

The following extract of Mr. Whitefield's manuscript journal, relative to this period, cannot be unacceptable:

"*Saturday, September* 2.—Had a most awful parting season at Tottenham Court Chapel sacrament, last Sunday morning; the sermon from Genesis xxviii. 12. And the same at Tabernacle (which was more than full) on Wednesday morning, at seven o'clock. This day dined at my worthy, fast, and tried friend, Mr. Keen's; and having comfortably settled, and left all my outward concerns in his hands, I took an affectionate leave, and, in company with some dear friends, this evening reached Gravesend; where others met us. We supped and conversed together in some degree, I trust, like persons who hoped, ere long, to sit down together at the marriage-feast of the supper of the Lamb. Hasten, O Lord, that wished-for time!

"*Sunday, September* 3.—Preached this morning at the methodist Tabernacle, from John xiith. verse 32d. The congregation was not very large. But God gave me great freedom

* One ship was lost, but the passengers escaped in the boat. Letter MCCCCXXX.

of speech, and made it indeed a house of God, and gate of Heaven. In the afternoon, I preached in the market-place, from Genesis iii. verse 13th, to a much larger, but not more devout auditory. In the out-skirts, as might naturally be expected, some were a little noisy, but a great body was very attentive, and I was enabled to lift up my voice like a trumpet. The remainder of the evening was spent as the night before, with my christian London friends; who with me, less than the least of all, exceedingly rejoiced at the opportunity of a parting street-market-place preaching, where, I trust, some pennyless bankrupt sinners were made willing to buy Gospel wine and milk, without money, and without price. May the great day show that this hope was not altogether ill-grounded!

"*Monday, September* 4.—Had my dear christian friends on board to breakfast with me this morning. Conversation was sweet, but parting bitter. 'What mean you (said the Apostle) to weep and break my heart?' However, through infinite mercy, I was helped to bear up, and, after their departure, the Divine Presence made up the loss of all, even with new-creature comforts. Lord, if this Divine Presence go not with, and accompany me all the way, for thy infinite mercies sake, suffer me not to go one step farther.

But I believe thy promise, Lord,
Oh! help my unbelief.

"*Tuesday, September* 5.—The captain not coming down as was expected, we did not weigh anchor till this morning's ebb.

"The winds being contrary, and the weather hazy, we did not arrive in the Downs till the Friday following. *Interim*, I had the opportunity of conversing a little with the pilot, and steerage passengers. All attended divine worship very orderly, and thanked me for my offer of lending them books, and giving them what assistance lay in my power towards making their voyage comfortable. All seemed thankful, and the pilot parted with tears in his eyes. May the great and never-failing Pilot, the Almighty Jesus, renew us, and take us all into his holy pro-

tection, and then all must necessarily end in our safe arrival in the haven of eternal rest!

"*Tuesday, September* 12.—Preached last Sunday morning to my little flock on board, and was most agreeably surprised to-day, with a kind, unexpected visit from the Rev. Dr. Gibbons. His discourse was very friendly and devout.

"*Wednesday, September* 13.—I went ashore and attended on an ordination solemnity, at the dissenting meeting. Several ministers officiated. Several very important questions were asked, and answered before, and a solemn charge given after, imposition of hands. But the prayer put up in the very act of laying on of hands, by Dr. Gibbons, was so affecting, and the looks and behaviour of those that joined so serious and solemn, that I hardly know when I was more struck under any one's ministration. The ordination being over, at the desire of the ministers, and other gentlemen, I went and dined with them. Our conversation was edifying. And being informed, that many were desirous to hear me preach, I willingly complied, and I trust some seed was sown the same evening, at Deal, which, by God's heavenly blessing, will spring up to life eternal. The people of Deal seemed very civil, and some came to me, who had not forgotten my preaching to them, and their deceased friends and parents, thirty-two years ago.

"*Friday, September* 14, 15.—I had received most pressing invitations to visit Ramsgate, many weeks ago. These were now repeated by many of that place, who came to the ordination at Deal; so there was no resisting their importunity. We reached Ramsgate about two, took some refreshment, and there I preached about four, not to a very large, but an attentive and affected auditory. This I did also the morning following; and was most agreeably entertained with the discourse and good memory of one, in particular, who had been my fellow-passenger, and frequent hearer many years ago, in the Wilmington, Captain Darling, bound to Piscataway, in New England. The people's behaviour here was so undissembledly generous, frank,

Complains of an incorrect copy of his Farewell Sermon.

genteel, and christian, that I know not where I have been more pleased and delighted. Being quite uneasy, lest by staying longer I should be unready if the wind should turn favourable, I went early on Sunday morning to Deal, and from thence immediately on board, and preached in the afternoon. This morning, came a surreptitious copy of my Tabernacle farewell sermon, taken, as the short-hand writer professes, *verbatim*, as I spoke it. But surely he is mistaken. The whole is so injudiciously paragraphed, and so wretchedly unconnected, that I owe no thanks to the misguided, though it may be well-meant zeal of the writer and publisher, be they who they will. But such conduct is an unavoidable tax upon popularity. And all that appear for Jesus Christ, and his blessed Gospel, must, like their master, expect to suffer from the false fire of professing friends, as well as secret malice of avowed enemies. However, if any one sentence is blessed to the conviction of one sinner, or the edification of any individual saint, I care not what becomes of my character, though I would always pray to be preserved from bringing upon myself, or others, needless, unnecessary contempt.

"*Monday, September* 25.—Weighed anchor last Tuesday-morning, with a small favourable gale, and fine weather. So many ships, which had lain in the Downs, moving at the same time, and gently gliding by us, together with the prospect of the adjacent shore, made a most agreeable scene. But it proved only a very transient one. For by that time we got to Fairlee, the wind backened, clouds gathered, very violent gales succeeded, and for several days we were so tossed, that after coming over against Brighthelmstone, the captain rightly judging, turned back (as did many other ships), and anchored over against New Rumsey and Dungeness. Lord, in thine own time, thou wilt give the winds a commission to carry us forward towards our desired port."

At last they got out of the channel, and, on the

30th of November, arrived at Charles-Town, in South Carolina. It had been a dangerous and trying passage; yet on his arrival he found himself in better health than at the end of any voyage he had made for several years; and the same day that he came ashore, he preached at Charles-Town, where his reception was as hearty, or heartier than ever.*

Here Mr. Wright came to meet him, and acquainted him that all was in great forwardness at Bethesda. And when he arrived there, he writes, "January, 1770. Every thing exceeds my most sanguine expectation. And the increase of this colony is almost incredible."†

The great regard which the colony of Georgia thought themselves bound to express towards Mr. Whitefield, at this time particularly, appears from the following authentic papers:

COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

MONDAY, JANUARY 29, 1770.

Mr. Speaker reported, "That he with the house, having waited on the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, in consequence of his invitation, at the Orphan-house academy; heard him preach a very

* From his memorandum book. "For the last week (November, 1769) we were beating about our port, within sight of it, and confined for two days in Five-fathom hole, just over the bar. A dangerous situation, as the wind blew hard, and our ship, like a young christian, for want of more ballast, would not obey the helm. But through infinite mercy, on November 30, a pilot-boat came and took us safe ashore to Charles-Town, after being on board almost thirteen weeks. Friends received me most cordially. Praise the Lord, O my soul; and forget not all his mercies. Oh, to begin to be a christian, and minister of Jesus." See Letter MCCCCXLI.

† Letters MCCCLXLV, MCCCCXLVI. Two wings were added to the Orphan-house, for the accommodation of students; of which Governor Wright condescended to lay the foundation, March 25, 1769. See Vol III. of his Works.

suitable and pious sermon on the occasion; and with great pleasure observed the promising appearance of improvement, towards the good purposes intended, and the decency and propriety of behaviour of the several residents there; and were sensibly affected, when they saw the happy success which has attended Mr. Whitefield's indefatigable zeal for promoting the welfare of the Province in general, and the Orphan-house in particular.

ORDERED, That this report be printed in the gazette.

John Simpson, Clerk.

Extract from the Georgia Gazette.

Savannah, January 31, 1770. "Last Sunday, his Excellency the Governor, Council and Assembly, having been invited by the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, attended at divine service, in the chapel of the Orphan-house academy, where prayers were read by the Rev. Mr. Ellington, and a very suitable sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, from Zechariah iv. 10. 'For who hath despised the day of small things?' to the general satisfaction of the auditory; in which he took occasion to mention the many discouragements he met with, well known to many there, in carrying on this institution for upwards of thirty years past, and the present promising prospect of its future and more extensive usefulness. After divine service, the company were very politely entertained with a handsome and plentiful dinner; and were greatly pleased to see the useful improvements made in the house, the two additional wings for apartments for students, one hundred and fifty-feet each in length, and other lesser buildings, in so much forwardness; and the whole executed with taste, and in a masterly manner; and being sensible of the truly generous and disinterested benefactions derived to the Province through his means, they expressed their gratitude in the most respectful terms."

Conceives his health to be much improved.

Soon after this he writes from Charles-Town, February 10. "Through mercy, I enjoy a greater share of bodily health than I have known for many years. I am now enabled to preach almost every day. Blessed be God, all things are in great forwardness at Bethesda. I have conversed with the Governor, concerning an act of Assembly, for the establishment of the intended Orphan-house college.* He most readily consents. I have shown him a draught, which he much approves of; and all will be finished at my return from the northward. In the meanwhile the buildings will be carried on."†

His letters of a later date are in the same strain, full of expressions of gratitude to Providence for the good state of his health,‡ and how exceedingly hap-

* See a paper of College Rules, at the end of Vol III. of his Works, which was found written with his own hand, and in which he orders the following authors in divinity to be read: Henry, Doddridge, Guyse, Burkitt, Willison, Prof. Franck, Boston, Jenks, Hervey, Hall, Edwards, Trapp, Pool, Warner, Leighton, Pearson, Owen, Bunyan. And the Homilies to be read publicly by rotation. He intended to publish a new edition of the Homilies, the preface to which (with prayers on several occasions) is to be seen in Vol. IV.

† Letter MCCCCXLVII, where he adds, "Since my being in Charles-Town, I have shewn the draught to some persons of great eminence and influence. They highly approve of it, and willingly consent to be some of the wardens. Near twenty are to be of Georgia, and about six of this place; one of Philadelphia; one of New York; one of Boston; three of Edinburgh; two of Glasgow; and six of London. Those of Georgia and South Carolina, are to be qualified; the others, to be only honorary corresponding wardens."

‡ Letters MCCCCL, MCCCCLVII, MCCCCLIX, MCCCCLX.

py he was at Bethesda.* And of his purpose (after he had travelled in the northern parts all summer) to return to his beloved Bethesda, late in the fall.† But this event never happened.

From Philadelphia, May 24, he writes,‡ "I have now been here near three weeks. People of all ranks flock as much as ever. Impressions are made on many, and, I trust, they will abide. Notwithstanding, I preach twice on the Lord's day, and three or four times a week besides, yet I am rather better than I have been for many years."

Again, Philadelphia, June 14.§ "This leaves me just returned from a one hundred and fifty miles circuit, in which, blessed be God, I have been enabled to preach every day.——So many invitations are sent from various quarters, that I know not which way to turn myself."

And, New York, June 30.‖ "Next week I purpose to go to Albany. From thence, perhaps, to the Oneida Indians. There is to be a very large Indian Congress. Mr. Kirkland accompanies me. He is a truly Christian minister and missionary. Every thing possible should be done to strengthen his hands. Perhaps I may not see Georgia till Christmas." In his memorandum-book is the following remark.¶

---

* Letters MCCCCXLVIII, MCCCCLII, MCCCCLIV.

† Letter MCCCCLIX. ‡ Letter MCCCCLX. § Letter MCCCCLXI.

‖ Letter MCCCCLXII.

¶ "July 2, 1770. Sailed from New York, with Mr. Kirkland, and two kind old friends, and arrived at Albany, July 6. Was kindly received by Mr. Bays and Domine Westaloe. Preached the same evening, and went the next day to see the

And again, from New York, July 29, he writes,* "During this month I have been above a five hundred miles circuit, and have been enabled to preach and travel through the heat every day. The congregations have been very large, attentive, and affected, particularly at Albany, Schenectady, Great Bamington, Norfolk, Salisbury, Sharon, Smithfield, Powkepsey, Fish Hill, New Rumbart, New Windsor, and Peckshill. Invitations crowd upon me both from ministers and people, from many, many quarters. I hope to set out for Boston in two or three days."

When he was at Boston, September 17, he writes to Mr. W———t, at Bethesda.† "Fain would I contrive to come by Captain Souder, from Philadelphia, but people are so importunate for my stay in these parts, that I fear it will be impracticable. Two or three evenings ago, I was taken in the night with a violent flux, attended with retching and shivering—but, through mercy, I am restored, and to-morrow morning hope to begin again. I hope it hath been well with you, and all my family; hoping, ere long, to see you, &c.

And lastly, to his dear friend Mr. R—— K——n, in London. Portsmouth, New Hampshire, September 13.‡ "By this time I thought to be moving

---

Cohoes Falls, twelve miles from Albany. O thou wonder-working God! Preached twice on the Lord's-day, at Albany, and the next day at Schenectady; and was struck at the delightful situation of the place. Heard afterwards that the word ran, and was glorified both there and at Albany. Grace, Grace!"

* Letter MCCCCLXIII. † Letter MCCCCLXIV. ‡ Letter MCCCCLV.

southward; but never was greater importunity used to detain me longer in these northern parts. Poor New England is much to be pitied; Boston people most of all. How grossly misrepresented!—You will see by the many invitations, what a door is opened for preaching the everlasting Gospel. I was so ill on Friday, that I could not preach, though thousands were waiting to hear. Well! the day of release will shortly come; but it does not seem yet: for by riding forty miles I am better, and hope to preach here to-morrow. If spared so long, I hope to see Georgia about Christmas. Still pray and praise. Hoping to see all dear friends about the time proposed, and earnestly desiring a continued interest in all your prayers, &c."

From the 17th to the 20th of September, he preached daily at Boston; September 20, at Newton: September 21, he set out from Boston, upon a tour to the eastward, pretty much indisposed: preached at Portsmouth and New Hampshire, September 23: and from that to the 29th, continued preaching every day; thrice at Portsmouth, once at Kittery, and once at Old York. Saturday morning, September 29, he set out for Boston; but before he came to Newbury Port, where he had engaged to preach next morning, he was importuned to preach by the way, at Exeter. At this last place he preached in the open air, to accommodate the multitudes that came to hear him, no house being able to contain them. He continued his discourse near two hours, was greatly fatigued, and in the afternoon set out for Newbury-

Port, where he arrived that evening; went early to bed, it being Saturday-night, intending to preach the next day. He awaked several times in the night, and complained much of a difficulty of breathing. At six o'clock, on the Lord's-day morning, he expired in a fit of the asthma.

Mr. Richard Smith, who accompanied Mr. Whitefield from England to America, the last time, and in his journeyings when there, to the time of his death, hath given a particular account of his death and interment, which it may not be improper to insert.

"On Saturday, September 29, 1770, Mr. Whitefield rode from Portsmouth to Exeter, (fifteen miles) in the morning, and preached there to a very great multitude, in the fields. It is remarkable, that before he went out to preach that day, (which proved to be his last sermon) Mr. Clarkson, senior, observing him more uneasy than usual, said to him, 'Sir, you are more fit to go to bed than to preach.' To which Mr. Whitefield answered, 'True, Sir:' but turning aside, he clasped his hands together, and, looking up, spoke, '*Lord Jesus, I am weary in thy work, but not of thy work. If I have not yet finished my course, let me go and speak for thee once more in the fields; seal thy truth; and come home and die.*' The text he preached from, was 2 Cor. xiii. 5. He dined at Captain Gillman's. After dinner, Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Parsons rode to Newbury. I did not get there till two hours after them. I found them at supper. I asked Mr. Whitefield how he felt himself after his journey: he said he was tired, therefore he supped early, and would go to bed.' He eat a very little supper, talked but little, asked Mr. Parsons to discharge the table, and perform family duty; and then retired up stairs. He said, 'that he would sit and read till I came to him;' which I did as soon as possible, and found him reading in the Bible, with

Continued.

Dr. Watts's Psalms lying open before him. He asked me for some water-gruel, and took about half his usual quantity; and kneeling down by the bed-side, closed the evening with prayer. After a little conversation, he went to rest, and slept till two in the morning, when he awoke me, and asked for a little cyder; he drank about a wine-glass full. I asked him how he felt, for he seemed to pant for breath. He told me his asthma was coming on him again; 'I must have two or three days rest. Two or three days riding, without preaching, would set me up again.' Soon afterwards, he asked me to put the window up a little higher, (though it was half up all night) 'for,' said he, 'I cannot breathe, but I hope I shall be better by-and-bye; a good pulpit-sweat to-day may give me relief; I shall be better after preaching.' I said to him, I wished he would not preach so often. He replied, 'I had rather wear out, than rust out.' I then told him, I was afraid he took cold in preaching yesterday. He said, 'He believed he had;' and then sat up in the bed and prayed, that God would be pleased to bless his preaching where he had been, and also bless his preaching that day, that more souls might be brought to Christ, and prayed for direction, whether he should winter at Boston, or hasten to the southward: prayed for a blessing on his Bethesda college, and his dear family there; for Tabernacle and Chapel congregations, and all his connections on the other side the water, and then laid himself down to sleep again. This was nigh three o'clock. At a quarter past four he waked, and said, 'My asthma, my asthma is coming on; I wish I had not given out word to preach at Haverhill on Monday; I don't think I shall be able: but, I shall see what to-day will bring forth. If I am no better to-morrow, I will take a two or three days ride.' He then desired me to warm him a little gruel, and, in breaking the fire-wood, I waked Mr. Parsons; who, thinking I knocked for him, rose and came in. He went to Mr. Whitefield's bed-side, and asked him how he felt himself. He answered, 'I am almost suffocated; I can scarce breathe: my asthma quite

Continued.

choaks me.' I was then not a little surprised, to hear how quick, and with what difficulty he drew his breath. He got out of bed, and went to the open window for air. This was exactly at five o'clock. I went to him, and for about the space of five minutes, I saw no danger, only that he had a great difficulty in breathing, as I had often seen before. Soon afterwards, he turned himself to me, and said, '*I am dying.*' I said, 'I hope not, Sir.' He ran to the other window, panting for breath, but could get no relief. It was agreed I should go for Dr. Sawyer; and, on my coming back, I saw death on his face, and he again said '*I am dying.*' His eyes were fixed, his under-lip drawing inward every time he drew his breath; he went towards the window, and we offered him some warm wine with lavender drops, which he refused. I persuaded him to sit down in the chair, and have his cloak on; he consented by a sign, but could not speak. I then offered him the glass of warm wine; he took half of it, but it seemed as if it would have stopped his breath entirely. In a little time, he brought up a considerable quantity of phlegm and wind. I then began to have some small hopes. Mr. Parsons said, he thought Mr. Whitefield breathed more freely than he did, and would recover. I said, 'No, Sir, he is certainly dying.' I was continually employed in taking the phlegm out of his mouth with a handkerchief, and bathing his temples with drops, rubbing his wrists, &c. to give him relief, if possible; but all in vain, his hands and feet were cold as clay. When the Doctor came in, and saw him in the chair leaning on my breast, he felt his purse, and said, 'He is a dead man.'—Mr. Parsons said, 'I do not believe it, you must do something, Doctor.'—He said, 'I cannot; he is now near his last breath.' And indeed so it was, for he fetched but one gasp, and stretched out his feet, and breathed no more. This was exactly at six o'clock. We continued rubbing his legs, and hands, and feet, with warm cloths, and bathed him with spirits for some time, but all in vain. I then put him into a warm bed, the Doctor standing by, and often raised him upright, con-

His corpse deposited in a new tomb before Mr. Parsons' Pulpit.

tinued rubbing him and putting spirits to his nose for an hour, till all hopes were gone. The people came in crowds to see him; I begged the Doctor to shut the door.

"The Rev. Mr. Parsons, at whose house my dear master died, sent for Captain Fetcomb, and Mr. Boadman, and others of his Elders and Deacons, and they took the whole care of the burial upon themselves, prepared the vault, and sent and invited the bearers. Many ministers of all persuasions came to the house of the Rev. Mr. Parsons, where several of them gave a very particular account of their first awakening under his ministry, several years ago, and also of many in their congregations, that to their knowledge, under God, owed their conversion wholly to his coming among them, often repeating the blessed seasons they had enjoyed under his preaching: and all said, that this last visit was attended with more power than any other, and that all opposition fell before him. Then one and another of them would pity and pray for his dear Tabernacle and Chapel congregations, and it was truly affecting to hear them bemoan America and England's loss. Thus they continued for two hours conversing about his great usefulness, and praying that God would scatter his gifts and drop his mantle among them. When the corpse was placed at the foot of the pulpit, close to the vault, the Rev. Mr. Daniel Rogers made a very affecting prayer, and openly confessed, that under God, he owed his conversion to the labours of that dear Man of God, whose precious remains now lay before them. Then he cried out, 'O my father, my father!' then stopt and wept, as though his heart would break, and the people weeping all through the place. Then he recovered, and finished his prayer, and sat down and wept. Then one of the Deacons gave out that hymn, *Why do we mourn departing friends?* Some of the people weeping, some singing, and so on alternately. The Rev. Mr. Jewel preached a funeral discourse, and made an affectionate address to his brethren, to lay to heart the death of that useful Man of God; begging that he and they might be upon their

The Rev. Mr. John Wesley preaches his funeral Sermon.

watch-tower, and endeavour to follow his blessed example. The corpse was then put into the vault, and all concluded with a short prayer, and dismission of the people, who went weeping through the streets to their respective places of abode."

The melancholy news of Mr. Whitefield's death reached London on Monday, November 5, 1770, by the Boston Gazette, and by three letters from different persons at Boston, to his friend, Mr. Keen, who also by the same post received two of his own handwriting, written in health: one seven, and the other five days before his death. Mr. Keen had the melancholy event notified the same night at the Tabernacle, and the next night at Tottenham-court chapel. His next step was to consider of a proper person to preach the funeral sermon; and recollecting he had often said to Mr. Whitefield, if you should die abroad, whom shall we get to preach your funeral sermon? Must it be your old friend, the Rev. Mr. John Wesley? And having received constantly for answer, "He is the man," Mr. Keen accordingly waited on the Rev. Mr. Wesley on the Saturday following, and engaged him to preach it on the Lord's day, November 18, which he did to a very large, crowded, and mournful auditory; many hundreds going away, who could not possibly get in.

In both the places of worship, the pulpits, &c. were hung with black cloth, and the galleries with fine black baize. The pulpits had escutcheons placed in the front; and, on each of the houses adjoining, hatchments were put up: the motto on each was, *Mea Vita, Salus et Gloria, Christus.* Six months

expired before the mourning was taken down, and the escutcheons hung up in each vestry. The hatchments remained twelve months, and when taken down, one was placed in the Tabernacle, and the other in the chapel, over a neat marble monument Mr. Whitefield had erected for his wife, with room left for a few lines respecting himself after his decease, as he purposed lying in the same vault, had he died in England. Accordingly, the Rev. Mr. Knight, of Halifax, in Yorkshire, drew up the following lines:

In Memory of
THE REV. GEORGE WHITEFIELD, A.M.
Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Countess of *HUNTINGDON*, whose Soul, made meet for Glory, was taken to IMMANUEL'S bosom, on the 30th of September, 1770; and whose body now lies in the silent Grave at Newbury Port, near Boston, in New England, there deposited in hope of a joyful Resurrection to eternal Life and Glory.

He was a Man eminent in Piety, of a humane, benevolent, and charitable Disposition; his Zeal in the Cause of GOD was singular, his Labours indefatigable, and his success in preaching the Gospel remarkable and astonishing. He departed this Life in the 56th Year of his Age.

And, like his Master, was by some despis'd;
Like Him, by many others, lov'd and priz'd:
But theirs shall be the everlasting Crown,
Not whom the World, but JESUS CHRIST will own.*

* These last four lines are now omitted—and, since the alteration and enlargement of the Chapel, the tablet to his memory stands as in the annexed Plate.

His age and general disposition.

Mr. Whitefield was not full fifty-six years of age at the time of his death; thirty-four years of which, he spent in the ministry. And if life is to be measured by the greatest activity and enjoyment; such as being always intent upon some good design, and vigorous in the pursuit of it; filling up every day with actions of importance, worthy of a man and a Christian; seeing much of the world, and having a constant flow of the most lively affections, both of the social and religious kind; Mr. Whitefield, in these thirty-four years, may be said to have lived more than most men would do, though their lives were prolonged for many ages.

CHAP. XXI.

A Description of his Person; a Review of his Life; and the most striking Parts of his Character pointed out.

His person was graceful, and well proportioned: his stature rather above the middle size. His complexion was very fair. His eyes were of a dark blue colour, and small, but sprightly. He had a squint with one of them.* His features were, in general, good and regular. His countenance was manly, and his voice exceedingly strong; yet both were softened with an uncommon degree of sweetness. He was always very clean and neat, and often said, pleasantly, "that a Minister of the Gospel ought to be without spot." His deportment was decent and easy, without the least stiffness or formality: and his engaging polite manner, made his company universally agreeable. In his youth he was very slender, and moved his body with great agility to action, suitable to his discourse: but about the fortieth year of his age, he began to grow corpulent; which, however, was solely the effect of his disease, being always, even to a proverb, remarkable for his moderation both in eating and drinking.

In reviewing the life of this extraordinary man, the following particulars appear very remarkable:

* Occasioned either by the ignorance or the carelessness of the nurse who attended him in the measles, when he was about four years old.

His sole happiness derived from social and religious duties.

First, we are struck with his unwearied diligence in the offices of religion, and his conscientious improvement of every portion of his time. Early in the morning he rose to his Master's work, and all the day long was employed in a continual succession of different duties. Take a view of his public conduct; here he is engaged either in preaching the gospel, in visiting and giving counsel to the afflicted, in instructing the ignorant, or in celebrating the praises of God. Observe his behaviour in private company: there you hear him introducing, upon all occasions, and among all sorts of people, discourse that tended to edification. And if you follow him to his retirements, you see him writing devout meditations upon the occurrences of the day, or letters to his Christian acquaintance, full of piety and zeal. What a gloomy idea must a stranger to vital piety entertain of a life spent in this manner? He will think it must have been not only joyless and disgusting, but intolerably burthensome. Far otherwise did it appear in the experience of this servant of Christ. He felt the greatest enjoyment, when engaged in a constant round of social and religious duties. In these, whole weeks passed away like one day. And when he was visited with any distress or affliction, preaching, as he tells us himself, was his catholicon, and prayer his antidote against every trial. The pleasure of a man of business in successfully pushing his trade, or of a philosopher when pursuing his favourite studies, may give us some faint conception of the joys which he felt: yet, so ardent were his desires after the

heavenly happiness, that he often longed to finish his work, and to go home to his Saviour.*

Again, we are justly surprised at his frequent and fervent preaching under all the disadvantages of a sickly constitution, and the many fits of illness with which he was suddenly seized. It must, indeed, be confessed, that change of air, frequent travelling on horseback, and the many voyages he made, might contribute to the preservation of his health and vigour: but, when we consider what exertion of voice was necessary to reach his large congregations; that he preached generally twice or thrice every day, and often four times on the Lord's day; but, above all, what waste of strength and spirits every sermon must have cost him through the earnestness of his delivery; it is truly astonishing, how his constitution could hold out so long.†

But there is another circumstance not less remarkable than either of the former, which is, the uncommon desire that all sorts of people expressed to attend his preaching; and that not upon the first or second visit only, but at every succeeding opportunity. Wherever he went, prodigious numbers flocked to

* "Blessed be God, the prospect of death is pleasant to my soul. I would not live here always. I want to be gone." Letter CCXLVIII.

"Sometimes it arises from a fear of falling. Sometimes from a prospect of future labours and sufferings. But these are times when my soul hath such foretastes of God, that I long more eagerly to be with Him; and the prospect of the happiness which the spirits of just men made perfect now enjoy, often carries me, as it were, into another world." Letter XCVI.

† "I preach till I sweat through and through." Letter XLVI.

hear him. His congregations often consisted of four or five thousand: in populous places they swelled to ten, sometimes fourteen: and upon some occasions, the concourse was so great, that they have been computed to be from twenty to thirty thousand.

It is wonderful to think how he commanded the attention of such multitudes; with what composure they listened, when he began to speak; how they hung upon his lips, and were often dissolved in tears: and this was the case with persons of the most hardy and rugged, as well as those of softer tempers.

His eloquence was, indeed, very great, and of the truest and noblest kind. He was utterly devoid of all appearance of affectation. He seemed to be quite unconscious of the talents he possessed. The importance of his subject, and the regard due to his hearers, engrossed all his concern. He spake like one who did not seek their applause, but was concerned for their best interests, and who, from a principle of unfeigned love, earnestly endeavoured to lead them in the right way. And the effect, in some measure, corresponded to the design. They did not amuse themselves with commending his discourses; but, being moved and persuaded by what he said, entered into his views, felt his passions, and were willing, for that time at least, to comply with all his requests. This was especially remarkable at his charity sermons,* when the most worldly-minded

* Which he preached for a great many others, besides his own Orphans in Georgia. See his Life.

were made to part with their money, in so generous a manner, that when they returned to their former temper, they were ready to think that it had been conjured from them by some inexplicable charm. The charm, however, was nothing else than the power of his irresistible eloquence, in which respect it is not easy to say, whether he was ever excelled in ancient or modern times.

He had a strong and musical voice, and a wonderful command of it. His pronunciation was not only proper, but manly and graceful. Nor was he ever at a loss for the most natural and strong expressions. Yet these in him were but lower qualities. The grand sources of his eloquence were an exceeding lively imagination which made people think they saw what he described; an action still more lively, if possible, by which, while every accent of his voice spoke to the ear, every feature of his face, every motion of his hands, and every gesture spoke to the eye; so that the most dissipated and thoughtless found their attention involuntarily fixed, and the dullest and most ignorant could not but understand. He had likewise a certain elevation of mind, which raised him equally above praise and censure, and added great authority to whatever he said.* But what

* The natural language of this Christian fortitude we have in Letter CCLXXXIII. "The Lord only knows how he will be pleased to dispose of me; great afflictions I am sure of having; and a sudden death, blessed be God, will not be terrible. I know that my Redeemer liveth. I every day long to see Him, that I may be free from the remainder of sin, and enjoy him, without interruption, for ever."

was, perhaps, the most important of all, he had a heart deeply exercised in all the social, as well as the pious and religious affections, and was, at the same time, most remarkably communicative, by which means, he was peculiarly fitted to awaken like feelings in others, and to sympathize with every one that had them.

This last, some have thought, was the distinguishing part of his character. It was certainly, however, an eminent part of it. In his journals and letters, an impartial reader will find instances thereof almost in every page: such as lively gratitude to God, in the first place, and to all whom God had used as instruments of good to him: sincere love in dealing so plainly with his correspondents about the interest of their souls:* frequent and particular intercession for his friends, his enemies, and all mankind: great delight in the society of Christian acquaintance; many very sorrowful partings, and joyful meetings with his friends: tender-heartedness to the afflicted: the pleasure in procuring and administering seasonable supply to the indigent: and condescension to people of the lowest rank, to instruct and converse with them for their good, in as kind and sociable a manner, as if he had been their brother or intimate friend. These are manifest proofs that he had a heart easily susceptible of every humane, tender, and compassionate feeling. And this was certainly a great mean of enabling him so strongly to affect the hearts of others.

* See particularly Letter CXVIII,

Had his natural talents for oratory been employed in secular affairs, and been somewhat more improved by the refinements of art, and the embellishments of erudition, it is probable they would soon have advanced him to distinguished wealth and renown. But his sole ambition was to serve a crucified Saviour, in the ministry of the gospel. And being early convinced of the great hurt that has been done to Christianity, by a bigotted spirit, he insisted not upon the peculiar* tenets of a party, but upon the universally-interesting doctrines of Holy Scripture, concerning the ruin of mankind by sin, and their recovery by Divine Grace; doctrines, the truth of which, he himself had deeply felt. To make men sensible of the misery of their alienation from God; and of the necessity of justification by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, of regeneration by the Holy Spirit, and of a life of devotedness to God, was the principal aim of all his discourses. "The only Methodism, I desire to know," says he,† "is a holy method of dying to ourselves, and of living to God." By this description he was far from intending to confine true religion to the exercises of devotion. By "living to God," he meant a constant endeavour after conformity to the Divine Will in all things. "For," says he, in another

* "I love all that love our Lord Jesus Christ." Letter LVIII.

"Oh how do I long to see bigotry and party-zeal taken away, and all the Lord's servants more knit together." Letter LXVIII.

"I wish all names among the Saints of God, were swallowed up in that one of Christian." Letter CXX.

And to the same purpose in many other places.

† Preface to the Journals, in the edition of 1756.

place,* "It is a great mistake to suppose religion consists only in saying our prayers. Every Christian lies under a necessity to have some particular calling whereby he may be a useful member of the society to which he belongs. A man is no further holy than he is relatively holy: and he only will adorn the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in all things, who is careful to perform all the civil offices of life, with a single eye to God's glory, and from a principle of lively faith in Jesus Christ our Saviour. This is the morality which we preach." He used also to give this definition of true religion, "That it is a universal morality founded upon the love of God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ." Licentiousness and luxury, and all sorts of time-wasting and dissipating amusements, how fashionable so-ever, he constantly inveighed against. These were the topics on which he employed his eloquence.

But not to dwell any longer on his accomplishments as an orator, and the excellent purposes to which, through the grace of God, he devoted them; one thing remains to be mentioned, of an infinitely higher order than any human powers whatever: and that is, the power of God, which so remarkably accompanied the labours of his servant, and without which, both scripture and experience teach us, that all external means, however excellent, are ineffectual and vain. It is here Mr. Whitefield is most to be envied, were it lawful to envy any man. When we

* Journals, May, 1739.

consider the multitudes that were not only awakened, but brought under lasting religious impressions by his ministry; and the multitudes that were wrought upon in the same manner by the ministry of others excited by his* example, both in Great Britain and America, we are naturally led into the same sentiments with Mr. Wesley in his funeral sermon, "What an honour hath it pleased God to put upon his faithful servant! Have we read or heard of any person since the Apostles, who testified the gospel of the grace of God, through so widely extended a space, through so large a part of the habitable world? Have we read or heard of any person, who called so many thousands, so many myriads of sinners to repentance. Above all, have we read or heard of any who has been a blessed instrument in his hand of bringing so many sinners from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God?"

This excellent character, joined to talents so extraordinary, and to labours, which God was pleased to bless with almost unequalled success, was shaded with some infirmities. And what else could be expected in the present condition of humanity? These have been sufficiently laid open in the preceding narrative of his life. And it ought to be observed, that as there was something very amiable in the frankness and unreservedness which prevented his concealing them; so through his openness to conviction, his teachableness,† and his readiness to confess

* See Hist. Coll. of the Success of the Gospel, Vol. II.

† "May God reward you for watching over my soul. It is

and correct his mistakes, they became still fewer and smaller, and decreased continually as he advanced in knowledge and experience.

It would be unjust to his memory, not to take notice upon this occasion of that uniformity of sentiment which runs through all his sermons and writings, after he was thoroughly enlightened in the truth. Indeed, when he first set out in the ministry, his youth and inexperience led him into many expressions which were contrary to sound doctrine, and which made many of the sermons he first printed justly exceptionable; but reading, experience, and a deeper knowledge of his own heart, convinced him of his errors, and upon all occasions he avowed his belief of the 39 Articles of the Church of England, and the Standards of the Church of Scotland, as expressly founded on the word of God. He loved his friend, but he would not part with a grain of sacred truth for the brother of his heart. Thus we see him constrained to write and print against the Arminian

---

difficult, I believe, to go through the fiery trial of popularity and applause, untainted." Letter LXI.

"When I am unwilling to be told of my faults, correspond with me no more. If I know any thing of my heart, I love those most who are most faithful to me in this respect. Henceforward, dear Sir, I beseech you by the mercies of God in Christ Jesus, spare me not." Letter LXXXV.

"We must be helps to each other on this side eternity. Nothing gives me more comfort, next to the assurance of the eternal continuance of God's love, than the pleasing reflection of having so many Christian friends to watch with my soul. I wish they would smite me friendly, and reprove me oftener than they do." Letter CIII.

tenets of Mr. John Wesley, whom he loved in the bowels of Christ Jesus. And it appears from several other tracts in the 4th Vol. of his Works, that he neglected no opportunity of stepping forth as a bold champion, in defence of that faith which was once delivered to the saints.

"I rejoice that you begin to know yourself. If possible, Satan will make us think more highly of ourselves than we ought to think. I can tell this by fatal experience. It is not sudden flashes of joy, but having the humility of Christ Jesus, that must denominate us Christians. If we hate reproof, we are so far from being true followers of the Lamb of God, that, in the opinion of the wisest of men, we are brutish." Letter CXII.

"O my dear brother, still continue faithful to my soul; do not hate me in your heart; in any wise reprove me." Letter CCIV.

"You need make no apology for your plain dealing. I love those best who deal most sincerely with me. Whatever errors I have been, or shall be guilty of, in my ministry, I hope the Lord will shew me, and give me grace to amend." Letter CCXCVIII. See also Letter DCXL.

OBSERVATIONS.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Reader having accompanied Mr. Whitefield through a long and laborious course of ministerial exertion (under circumstances which, but for an influence superior to all worldly considerations, and which impelled him far beyond the ordinary efforts of human perseverance, must have deterred him almost in his very outset), his attention is requested to a few observations, which, it is humbly presumed, may assist him in forming a just estimate, not only of the very extraordinary character he has been contemplating, but also of the importance of his ministration.

Previous to that great æra, in Ecclesiastical history, the REFORMATION, Literature and Science, (such as they were) were, during many centuries, almost wholly confined to the Clergy; and, under the influence of monastic gloom, became, first, the handmaids of Superstition, and afterwards, as Ambition and Avarice increased, to the further contamination of the Church, the auxiliaries of Craft and Imposture.

The people (even the princes and nobles, with few exceptions) were sunk in a state of the most profound Ignorance.—The Scriptures were locked up in their original, or the Latin languages, and their doctrine

was delivered by the priests to the people, with such interpretations as, under the direction of the Pope, they chose to give to them.—Implicit faith was exacted, not only in the real mysteries of religion; but the most plain and obvious doctrine was rendered mystical by perversion, and, as a mystery, the reception of it was insisted on with an equal, if not a superior, degree of rigour.

The success of the Clergy was followed by the most intolerable arrogance in the inferior orders of it; while the Pope, no longer contented with representing the Catholic church, aspired to universal domination—appointed and deposed kings at pleasure—absolved their subjects from their allegiance to them, and, for mere personal differences, laid whole kingdoms under interdicts, by which both Prince and people were excluded from the public worship of their Maker, and the common rights of Humanity! To such a height of Pride and Impiety can mere man, inebriated by Prosperity, presume!—Many were the attempts at Reformation at various times, and in different countries; but fire and fagots received the virtuous Reformers, and were placed *in terrorem* to their disciples!

Such was the nature of Popery during many ages, operating with more or less presumption, according to the mildness, austerity, or violence, of the man who swayed its power—while Christianity, sophisticated by false doctrines, and enveloped by fictitious mysteries and vain pageantry, was almost lost in the resemblance of Paganism.

Observations.

From this state of spiritual slavery, mental darkness, and abject credulity, the people were, at length, released, by the Reformation in the sixteenth century; begun in Germany by Luther, an obscure Monk, and completed in England, by the resentment of a capricious king.

As one consequence of the Reformation, the Scriptures were translated into the vernacular tongue, and were read and studied with that avidity, earnestness, and veneration, which their novelty and importance naturally excited.—But (so imperfect must all national Reformations be, as to their general influence!) numbers, of saturnine dispositions and moody habits, struck by the beautiful mildness, benevolence, and simplicity of the Gospel character, contrasted with the pride and violence of the Romish church, and its mass of errors and absurdities, looked with horror on the least vestige of Popery; and from an implicit submission to papal authority, and a rigid adherence to a series of useless symbols and ceremonies, flew to the opposite extreme, and turned their back on all church ordinances, of human institution, whatsoever.—These obtained the appellation of Puritans; and it may be reasonably supposed, that the original Puritans were worthy of the name; but, in time, men of worldly minds, and ambitious views, assumed the character as a cloak for political or other equally opposite purposes, and thus depraved it in the public estimation.

Others, of sanguine temperament and lively imaginations, emancipated from their subjection to Monk-

ish austerity and Papal penance, began to indulge the bias of their *natural* inclinations; and, from thinking *freely* of religion they came to think *lightly*, until, at length, its slighted spirit receded from their indifference, and left them to the influence of unbridled passions, and the mere contemplation of the present scene—the scene around them—they became Deists!

Nemo repente est turpissimus.—Although they were no longer influenced by the spirit of Religion, it was still *nominally* respected by them; but, in the course of a few succeeding generations, their numbers augmented, their audacity increased, and they had so long indulged in a course of licentious aberration from all the principles of Christianity, that, flying from their baptismal Banner, they boldly sounded the trumpet of Apostacy, and, by the pens of some cool and crafty leaders, questioned (or, in other words, denied) the divinity of Christ—the truths of his doctrine—the existence of his miracles, and all that was consequential or dependant on them.

There were many, however, whose veneration of Religion, and whose pure principles of Faith, could not be shaken; and, among them, some eminent and learned men, who came forward in defence of their important trust.

The controversy was carried on with all the learning and argument that could be brought to bear on one side, and all the subtilty and sophistry that could be invented on the other—but from this contest, the poor and illiterate were necessarily excluded;

and, while the Church was defending, as a question, what had hitherto been delivered as indubitable truth, these were in danger of sinking into that state of supine indifference, to which the want of repeated information and exhortation must naturally subject them.

The literary attacks of the Deists were repelled by the irresistible power of Truth; but, as an adverse consequence of this necessary contest, it in a great degree tended to introduce a style of divinity so different from its former simplicity and general adaptation, that the poor could no longer effectually comprehend it—the word was delivered to the ear, but it reached not the heart—it soothed the minds of a polished auditory, but neither operated on the hopes nor the fears of the illiterate and uninformed.

It was at this period that Providence stirred up and stimulated, to a degree of exertion equal to its necessity, a select association of learned men of extraordinary zeal and piety; whose concerted purpose was, to preach the principles of the Christian Faith and Practice with such an earnestness of manner and closeness of matter, as, conjoined with a strictness of example, might best answer the purpose of a general reception—and of this association, more especially, was the Rev. George Whitefield; a man endowed with talents so appropriate, with an animation and energy so potent, as to subdue the hearts and minds of thousands, of various classes and dispositions, to the power of the Gospel:—perhaps the extent of his *individual* influence has never been equalled.

Observations.

That such a man would be accused of Enthusiasm and extravagance, by those who should view, with an invidious eye, the success of his ministry, and by those who might object to the strictness of his doctrine, was to be expected—but, on due consideration, the measure of his zeal as a *mean*, will not be found to have been disproportionate to its *end*.

He was to go through a course of labour of the most arduous kind; not only daily, but from morning to night—he was to endure insults of various descriptions—and he was to find no resting-place. Repose, which is the final object of all other men's labours, was to make no part of his calculation; even health, the most important of all earthly considerations, was to form a part of the sacrifice (and which he willingly made) to his high calling. To labour, and to die, were, as to himself, the whole sum of his reckoning here! To maintain his constancy through such a life, no ordinary portion of zeal could have sufficed. It may be termed enthusiasm; but it would rather appear to have been an extraordinary *impulse* for the accomplishment of an extraordinary *purpose*.

There have been few, if any, whose moral characters have been so constantly observed, or so rigidly scrutinized, both by friends and adversaries; and, perhaps, in no one, as a minister, has been found a stricter congruity of doctrine with practice.

As a controversial writer, he seems to have possessed all the essential requisites—a perspicuity and strength of language—a ready and copious flow of argumen-

tation, sometimes abounding with sarcastic point, often elegant, *semper ad rem*—and a singular felicity in the selection of collateral authorities to support his own.

His style of preaching has been objected to *—if,

* To a devout and pious mind, the rhetorical adjuncts of attitude and action are superfluous, as all means of enforcement must be where there is a predisposition to receive. But a great part of those who constituted the immense auditories of Mr. Whitefield, were of a different description—he had to rouse the supine and to subdue the callous; and, in the ardour of his zeal to render his endeavours efficient, he would, occasionally, stamp with his foot.

The *supplosio pedis*, the most emphatic part of Mr. Whitefield's rhetorical action, we are told by Cicero, was the least of theirs. The Romans considered rhetorical action, or, as Cicero terms it, *corporis eloquentia*, so essential in an orator, so natural to truth, that when M. Callidius had accused Q. Gallius of an intention to poison him, although he had brought forward substantial proof, it was urged, as an objection to his statement, that there was no passion in his speech, "*Nulla perturbatio animi, nulla corporis; frons non percussa, non femur; pedis (quod minimum est) nulla supplosio;*" he did not, says Cicero, (which is the least he would have done, had he been influenced by truth in such a case) even *stamp with his foot.*

Cicero likewise tells us, that in his discovery and suppression of Catiline's conspiracy, he was inwardly impelled and directed by the Gods; that this spiritual impulse was of such a nature, as to detach his mind from all other thoughts, all other concerns.—"*O Dii Immortales! Vos, profecto, animum meum tum conservandæ patriæ cupiditate incendistis; vos me ab omnibus cæteris cogitationibus ad unam salutem reipublicæ contulistis: vos denique in tantis tenebris erroris, et inscientiæ clarissimum lumen prætulistis menti meæ.*" And with an ardour that might make some modern christians blush, this enlightened heathen exclaims, "*Vobis enim tribuam, quæ vestræ sunt: nec vero possum meo tantum ingenio dare, ut tot res, tantas, tam varias, tam repentinas, in illa turbulentissima tempestate reipublicæ, mea sponte*

however, we may judge by its effects, it must have been generally right; but, in considering it, the nature of his ministration must also be considered—he

despexerim."—Or as if, as a Christian, he had said, "To Thee O God I will give the praise and glory of our deliverance, of which I am but the humble instrument—for of myself it was impossible that I should observe and frustrate a combination of contrivances so great, so various, and unexpected."—To Cicero never was imputed either Enthusiasm, Superstition or Hypocrisy—yet, in substance, these are all points, parallel with those which in Mr. Whitefield were so illiberally stigmatized. He has been long past all sense of human praise or censure—we have, therefore, extended our observations less on his account, than to illustrate the blindness of prejudice.

He acknowledges himself, in his Journals, to have been too free in the use of scriptural terms. On ordinary occasions, they are certainly best avoided; but, where the promotion of religion in the heart and mind is the object, a judicious use of them, we think, will be found, in a great degree, conducive to it.

It has been thought that the present age (refined and polished as it is, by improvements in Literature and Science, which seem to have raised both nearly to their long-desired acmé) requires a new translation of the Scriptures; by which the errors of a darker age might be rectified, and the language rendered more consonant with the phrase and idiom of the present day. Partial attempts have been made; but the good sense of our Governors, and, it is presumed, of a great majority of the nation, has been hitherto superior to its adoption.

That any material advantage could be derived from the improvements in Science, or, in other words, a presumed better acquaintance with the laws of Nature, is problematical in a very great degree, admitting that we have the advantage of relative truth—and in the display of a more polished style, it might be highly prejudicial. Religion, if not its truth, would, in some degree, lose its character, and in a great degree its influence. —Why are the old forms and the old phraseology preserved in our state papers and law deeds?—because they are *characterized* by them—rendered more impressive—and derive from them a solemnity which commands our veneration and respect. In these

was, in a peculiar degree, the *Apostle of the Poor.** He had often to preach to those who were the mere outcasts of society, and who had no sense of God or his word—he had to influence the ignorant mind and the obdurate heart. Polished language and calm reasoning, on a subject so discordant with the grovelling ideas of the one, and the perverse inclinations of the other, were not likely to effect the purpose—it demanded energy in an extraordinary degree, and a flow of language and sentiment, such as, without requiring a course of intermediate reasoning or reflection, would instantaneously come home to the heart.

When he preached before the Governor and Council at Bermudas, the propriety of his style may be understood by their admiration of it. When he preached to the noble auditory at the Countess of Huntingdon's, of which the Lords *Chesterfield* and *Bolingbroke* were a part, the discourse could not have been very deficient, either in elegance or argument, that obtained their request to hear him again, and their final unqualified approbation.

In his ejaculations to Heaven, he has been thought sometimes to have used a style too *familiar*, from a

much, but in the Scriptures more, and, both in the Divine and Civil Laws, are only ridiculed by the ignorant, the injudicious, or profane:—so long as they may be *literally* read, and piously understood, let us have in them no *innovation of language.*

* In a letter to the Rev. Mr. Hervey, Author of the MEDITATIONS, he says, "I write for the poor—you for the polite and noble."

creature to his Maker; but allowance is to be made for the extraordinary *fervours* of a mind continually and intensely occupied by divine contemplations, and grateful for that *Peace* which passeth all understanding.

To conclude: admitting (for he admitted it himself) that his zeal, at times, outstript his judgment, was it not, from the very nature of occasional excess, in the human heart and mind, of whatever quality, to be rather expected than blamed?—That of the immense numbers who attended his preaching, all were not sincere, and that some would, under the guise of spiritual sanctity, pursue only worldly views, there needs no question—but it is no less certain, that *he turned many unto Righteousness.* Many, very many, have been brought, by his preaching, to the knowledge and conviction of the most salutary and divine truths, who would otherwise have been ignorant of, or inattentive to them, and, by a consequent course of piety and good works, have been rendered more comfortable in this world, and more hopefully prepared for the next. *Hàc iter Elysium nobis.*

JOHN JONES.

ORIGINAL LETTERS.

[The following Letters to Mr. WHITEFIELD are inserted, as literary reliques of men, eminent, in their day, for piety, and zeal in the promulgation of the Gospel—and likewise as affording us an opportunity of giving a *fac simile* of their hand-writing.]

[FROM THE REV. JOHN WESLEY.]

Liverpool, March 21, 1767.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

Yesterday I came hither just in good time: for the ship which sailed hence a few days ago, was y^e^ next night overtaken by a storm, & is gone to y^e^ bottom w^th^ all y^e^ crew. If I can't find a convenient vessel here very soon, I think to go round (as I did before) by Portpatrick.

I trust, before you receive this, you will have reason to bless GOD for his comfortable presence with you at Brighthelmstone. I should have rejoiced, cou'd I have made one of the company: but I was called to buffet with the wind & rain. All is well, so we are but about our Master's work. Let us work in earnest while the day is.

We are so far from having any Travelling Preachers to spare, that there are not enough to supply the people that earnestly call for them. I have been this very year at my wits end upon the account. But some of the Local Preachers are equal both

in Grace & Gifts to most of the Itinerants. Such is Richard Moss in particular. And I heartily rejoice, when these are removed into a larger field of action.*

I trust you always remember in your prayers,

Your ever affectionate Brother,

J. Wesley

[FROM THE REVEREND EDMUND JONES, THE REPUTED APOSTLE OF WALES.]

REVD SIR, *April* 21, —66.

Yr very kind & agreeable letter I receiv'd yesterd. The parcel wch. you were so kind as to send me, came to my house this day sevenight, when I was gone from home on a journey to Glamorg. to preach the everlast. Gosp. of Xt, at Croeswen, Cymmar, & Collheneu; for wch. I return you & Mrs. W——d many thanks: yr. kindness hath set us above bodily wants for the whole of this year, & perhaps the next, I mean as to food & rayment meanly taken: Blessed be the father of mercies. I have sent a letter yesterday for Mr. Smith, of Bristol, to let him know that the whole parcel is received. I am very glad of the good news from America. This quarter of the world being found before the General Reforma. doth in effect tell us, that it is to be, & that eminently, the place of religion: and did not the position of the Tabern. & the temple length-wise from east to west, & the better ends of them, containing the better furniture, the golden altar, the ark, the cloud of glory, the golden pot, & manna, being westward, intimate this? And also the motion of the sun, a figure of the

* He was ordained a few months before by the Bishop of London, as a Missionary.

sun of the spiritual world westward, may daily prophecy this great thing.

If an Indian preacher is come to you to London, I trust the good people belong. to the Tabern. will pray for his success; & that the Lord would hasten once more to visit his church; for God's visit will turn many sinners, & confirm all saints: And that you will, Sir, desire the said Indian preacher (I sh^{d} be glad to know his name) to preach faith & repent. which are the sum of Apostolick preaching, *Acts* 20. 21. Repent. which, 1. implies a knowledge what is sin; & 2. contains many parts ag^{t} it, *i.e.* 1. an appreh. that sin is the greatest evil, wch. is the judgm. set ag^{t} sin; 2. shame of it; 3. aversion and hatred to it; 4. sorrow for it; 5. resolution ag^{t} it; 6. confession of it; & lastly reforma. from it. The first 5 are the inward parts of rep. the two last are the outward parts of repent. the one in words, or verbal, & the other actual repent. & both these tog. not one alone, the evid. & proofs of inward repent. These are the parts of repent. & they contain much; & are all together the destruct. of the being of sin, though the guilt of sin is removed by the pardon of sin. This is nearly a compleat account of the parts of repent. for of its parts only I am now speaking. When this about repent. was first revealed to my mind, I have reas. to think the Lord was near me; there was some glory in my soul—Answ. to these are the parts of faith. 1. an approbation of Xt. as the greatest good, wch. is the judgm. set right erga him: & when in the light of God's knowledge a man looks upon sin to be the greatest evil, he will look on Xt. as the greatest good. 2. not being ashamed of Xt. but the contra. 3. love to him; 4. joy because of him. 5. a resolu. to accept of him, and accepting, 6. confession of him. 7. obed. to him. These the parts of faith, together with believing what the word saith ab$_{t}$ him, wch. sh^{d} have been mentioned first. You can put 'em in better order, and apply 'em. Will you Sir, be so kind as to preach these heads for me at the Tabern.? I

can do but little here, you can do much there, & I w^{d} be glad to have some little hand in the good done. Sh^{d} you be inclin'd to do this, yr. observing the connection of the parts, inward & outward, both of faith & repent. & their dependence upon each other, as you go along, will both farther illuminate & beautify the discourse. If the India preacher pleases, you may write these heads for him, in a better order than I have wrote 'em to you: & if he shall hear you preach it, it will help his understanding the subject much better; for I suppose he has not much learning. If he can read English, help him to Baxter's Call, Boston's 4 fold State, Dyer's Xt's Famous Titles, an excell. book; Pilgrim's Progress, Watts & Evans on the Xtian Temper; Watson's Body of Divinity; Burkitt on New Testament.

Dear Mrs. W——d will be glad to hear that about Newport is a considera. reforma. by the preaching of Mr. Rogers, a Dissent. Minist. now dead; & the town itself much civilis'd by the preaching of Mr. Hoar, the Church Minister, a Glocester man born: & by his virtuous behaviour.

Mr. Rogers was a Bedweltey man, a layman, a lame man, a freeholder.

I am Rev^{d} & Dear Sir y^{rs} in ours

E J

My good spouse joins in cordial & grateful resp. to you & dear Mrs. W——d. We are glad she is better, & of y^{r} great success in America & London. Of the Flower book another time; & when I write you shant pay postage for a few lines, I'll write much in it.

Original Letters.

[FROM THE REV DR. ERSKINE.]

DEAR SIR,

I now return your letters, having shown them to several friends. Mr. Boyne waits a return from Mr. Rogers, before sending more. By the bye, I have a new & very strong instance how little is to be done in procuring a Doctor's degree for such as best deserve it. Mr. Muir, of Paisly, is publishing a book at London, to the sale of which the prefixing D.D. to the title is thought of some consequence. I apply'd to Mr. Hunter, at Leith, to engage Mr. Balfour, of Pilrig, to write Principal Leechman, his brother-in-law. His answer was, he could not, however disposed, propose it in the faculty, with the least hope of success. It seems resolved to put a negative on all zealous for Calvinist Doctrines, unless where such interpose whom they are not willing to disoblige.

I hope more good is going on among us than for some time past. Mr. Townsend's ministry has been bless'd to many. Mr. Hunter at Leith, & Touch at the West Kirk chapel of ease are bold & zealous. The latter has sometimes a thousand, mostly work people, attending him, when explaining the catechism on Friday evenings.

I am, Dear Sir,

Y^r affect. Brother & Sert

John Erskine

Edinr 26 *Novr*
1768.

Please show this to Mr. Traill, at Chelsea, who wrote me about Mr. Muir.

[FROM THE REV. JOHN BERRIDGE.]

DEAR FRIEND, *Everton, May* 22: 69.

Your kind note was received yesterday, which tells me where you have been, and what you were doing. You have got your wings again, I find; 'tis well: I wish I could send you a congratulation without envy, but I cannot. Whilst you are winging your way from county to county, and perching, like an eagle, on the cupola of every Tabernacle, I am sitting at home solitary, like a sparrow on the house-top, or rather like an owl in the desert. Able I am, through God's mercy, *fruges consumere terræ*; and scarce fit for any thing else. At present I have no prospect of going any where from home to preach; and but for these words, "Wait the Lord's leisure," and "thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle's," I should never expect to go out again. Every thing is apt to hurry & disquiet me, & at times I am scarce able to bear company. Indeed if I may tell you the truth, I do not look for a speedy end of my troubles, because my heart is not humbled under the affliction. I cannot kiss the rod—and while matters are at this pass, 'tis no marvel that the Master keeps my feet in the stocks. I wish and pray for a resigned will, but have it not: Yea wish more for resignation than for health. Dear Lord, bestow it on me. Oh, how churlish is my heart at times, much harder than a nether millstone; then I sit & squat like some poor toad under a tile, and spit at every thing that vexeth me—Anon my heart is broken down with sweet contrition, and then I get such charming sights of grace, such cheering gleams of love, as make me think I ne'er shall grumble more. But these visits oft are short; and when they end, I slide at once from Heaven to

Earth and downward still to Hell, the Hell of my own bosome. Weary I am of myself, right weary & ashamed. Eleven years at a Gospel School, and have not yet half learnt the first lesson of the lowest form, "Take up thy cross." What a booby! None but Jesus could bear such dunces in his school. 'Tis well for me that he is God as well as man, else I should weary him out, and his compassions would fail. But enough on this subject. Perhaps I may disquiet you, if you are a little sunk into the scald miserable order. Well, you are returned with a cold & hoarseness. Proper physick after a 5 weeks pentecostal feasting. We are like children, always wanting the treacle-pot: but a wise man says, "it is not safe, eating too much honey."— And therefore thorns in the flesh usually follow close at the heels of heavenly manifestations & succours. These thorns often seem to us a mere dead weight, but prove an excellent ballast, and keep every ship from oversetting. When we get into port, we shall drop our ballast, this house of correction. Oh for a safe passage and a happy landing. To be met & welcomed by Jesus, and embraced in the arms of this faithful, unchangeable Friend. Come, my brother, let us trudge on. Whilst I creep, do you run: and the Lord direct our feet, and quicken our pace, and prosper our work continually. Peace be with thee, and with all that love the Lord Jesus.

[FROM THE REV. RALPH ERSKINE.]

Edin^{r} Aug. 4.
1741.

R^{d} D. B.

I having intimated sermon in Dunfermline to be upon Thursday, & knowing that then, in view of hearing you, a great multitude will gather together; and seeing my B^{n} coming from distant corners to wait upon you, will never expect that you'll visit 'em in a hurry, & put yourself under a necessity of leaving them so suddainly at first meeting q^{n} I know not if you can have a second in y^{t} manner: lest the proposal of such a quick return to Ed^{r} be misconstructed as owing to the influence of those who will grudge every moment we shall have of your company; for these & other reasons, I ha'nt time to mention, I presume to advise & desire you again to put off your return to Edin^{r} at least till Friday morning. You have the power in your own hand after sermon to regulate your intimation. D.S. You are now immerg'd in the difficultys & surrounded w^{t} the snares and temptations y^{t} make you need as much of divine conduct as ever. Under the covert of the greatest friendship to you & to religion also, the work of God, among our hands will be disparaged, & it being witnessing work, in midst of those that have slain the witnesses in the manner you sufficiently know, if the grand enemy can get you now to stand quite neuter, as he w^{d} tempt all to be, no doubt he will triumph. But I hope the Lord will in mercy direct you, that the enemy get no advantage.

I am, as formerly, D. S^{r}

Yours in our dearest Lord Jesus,

Ralph Erskine

[FROM THE REV. RALPH ERSKINE.*]

Dunfermline,

Revd & very D. B. Apr: 10. 1741.

I received, joyfully, your letter dated on board the Minerva, Feb: 16, with a cover dated London, March 16, and desire to praise the Lord wt you, for his wonderful care of & works done by you. I did not immediately answer, because ere I did so, I inclin'd that my Bn should share wt me in the pleasure I had by yours, & that my answers might import their kindly salutations as well as mine own, qch I hereby send you. Some days after yours came to hand, I was to meet wt the Associate Presbytery at Edinr: 7 of 'em only were present: my Bror Eben & two besides were absent. Our work was the ordination of Mr Adam Gib, one of our probationers, to be Minr to the Associate Congregation in and about Edinr. The solemnity was decently gone about before a vast audience. This is the 4th Minr we have ordain'd to congregations associate wt us wtin these two years: we have others on tryal for that end, & a great deal of applications made to us for more. Mr. Wilson, in Perth, who teacheth as our Professor of Divinity, has moe candidates for the Ministrie under his charge than most of the publick colledges, except Edinr. I have two sons wt him: they seem as yet to be promising youths, but O pray for them, that they may be fitted wt others for usefullness in our Lord's vineyard. We have no other academy in Scotland now where people expect to have their children taught sound doctrine wtout mixture of error.

* We are authorized, by an endorsement in the hand-writing of the Rev. Dr. DUNCAN, (to whom we are obliged for the whole of these Letters) to say, that when Dr. GILLIES published his Edition, he advertised for this letter both in England and Scotland, but could not obtain it.

I received not the letter you speak of, wrote from Bohemia in Maryland, inclos'd as you say in a packet; and I'm sorry I have not, because I expect it w^d^ contain some return to two of mine, which I wrote you since you went abroad: one in answer to yours from Philadelphia, Nov^r^ 8^th^ wherein I endeavoured to inform you about our Scots Cov^ts^ & principles anent taking the sword, in both q^ch^ I saw you wanted information. Another in answer to yours from Savannah, Jan: 16. 1740, wherein I gave you the History of our being deposed by the last Gen: Assembly, & also an account of our Presbyterian Church Governm^t^ & my thoughts at some length upon Church-communion, which you seem'd to desiderate. I w^d^ wish to know whether you got these two letters: the last was inclos'd open in one to worthy Mr. Seward, w^t^ whom I interchang'd a line or two since he came home, & whose death of late was most afflicting to me & many. It refreshes me to hear that any of my poor writings in verse or prose have been & are bless'd in this or any other part of the earth. If I travel by pen as far as you do in person, & contribute my mite for spreading of Gospel light, I rejoice in it, & bless His name who has order'd this beyond my view & expectation.

I'm glad that the 'Marrow of modern divinity' has been helpfull to you; so it has been to many. I hope that, & Boston's works q^ch^ you have perused, will contribute to give you the same view of the Gospel w^t^ all other truly Evangelical Divines, & be more and more a fence to you against the erroneous stuff that lards the most part of preachings & prints. Glory to God that has enlightened you so clearly, & enables you to give testimonie so faithfully ag^st^ the dangerous errors that are springing up among your B^n^. I have not seen the sermon intituled Free Grace, & but very lately heard of some of Mr. Jo: Wesley's errors, & wrote to him to be inform'd if matters were so, but had as yet no return. Blest be God that you are set for the defence of the Gospel, & that I yet hear you sing of distinguishing grace & of our Lord's powerful presence w^t^ you. Go

on D. B. in asserting & publishing the doctrine of sovereign grace reigning thro' his righteousness, to eternal life; for this & only this Gospel will be the organ of Omnipotency & the power of God to the salvation of sinners.

I shall do what service I can in disposing of the sermons you design to print by subscription, for carrying on a negroe school in Pensylvania, tho' indeed I fear I can do but little, because of the great scarcity of money & dearth in this country; yet I suppose all my B^n & some others will be ready to do what they can for advancing such a charitable & religious design. May the Lord prosper such labour of love.

As to the matter of marriage, I wish you may be directed of the Lord, for a good wife is from him. I have one wife in Heaven & have now the 2^d on earth, & I think I had 'em both from him. I sought & he gave. Glory to free grace thro' Christ, w^tout q^ch I could neither seek nor get. It was no ill advice of the poet, *non solum est oculis ducenda sed auribus uxor.* May the Lord himself guide you by his counsel, & choose for you.

As to your inclination to visite Scotland before you leave England, if the Lord will. My D.B. as you open your heart to me, so shall I mine to you on this head also. There is no face on earth I would desire more earnestly to see than yours, & there is none would be more welcome than you, w^t whom there is so much, I think, of our glorious Master's spirit. Yet I w^d desire it only in a way that I think w^d tend most to the advancing of our Lord's Kingdom & the Reformation work among our hands. Such is the situation of affairs among us, that unless you came w^t a design to meet and abide w^t us, particularly of the Associate Presbytery, & to make your publick appearances in the places, especially of their concern, or by their counsel, direction, or advice, I w^d dread the consequences of your coming, lest it should seem equally to countenance our persecutors, & these that are opposing the work of Reformation among our hands. You know upon what grounds we

made a secession, and as you have seen good ground to separate from the Wesleys, so we have separate from the established Judicatories, & they have separated us from them by a sentence of deposition past in the Gen: Ass: & inferior Judicatories are generally homologating, & some of them where we reside executing the sentence as far as they can, & w^{d} do more were it not that they fear the people, who generally flock to us, while we, in the mean time, are, thro' grace, going on in our work, & sometimes have the Lord sensibly w^{t} us. I w^{d} therefore wish for such a coming as might more & more unite the friends of truth & Reformation to one another, strengthen our hands, still our adversaries, & fill their faces w^{t} shame that they may seek his name: they want to pour all the contempt upon us & our way they can, tho' still it has redounded to their disadvantage. Your fame w^{d} occasion a flocking to you, to whatever side you w^{d} turn, & if it should be in their pulpets (as no doubt some of 'em w^{d} urge) we know how it w^{d} be improven against us; we have been sometimes already upbraided w^{t} your having more of the Lord's presence than we, & yet never separating from the Ch: of England, notwithstanding their corruptions, tho' it's ill argu'd when cases differ so much.

However, as to those of the episcopal way that have meeting-houses in this country, I have heard of none of 'em from whom you will not have as much reason to separate as from the Wesleys, being all Arminian, &c. As to those of the Independent way among us, they are mightily divided, hardly a handful of them united among themselves; they are deserted by the generality of our good people, who are mostly professed Presbyterians, espousing our covenanted Reformation, from which the Independents among us have apostatised, especially w^{t} relation unto Church Govern^{t}, as well as in some other things. As to those of the establish'd Judicatories, our testimony is lifted up especially against their defections. Therefor I know not w^{t} whom you could safely join yourself, if not w^{t} us. And as I know it is easy for you, notw^{t}standing the way of your education,

to desist at least while wt us, from the use of those forms and cerimonys in worship, retain'd from Rome by the Ch: of England since the Reformn, but abjur'd by us since that period; and that you know as much of the divine presence in your doctrine & worship, even when these are laid aside by you: So we & our people having all a notion of you as being in the way of Reformn & lying open to light in all these matters, I am perswaded your coming thus to us wd be matter of great joy, & what we would earnestly desire, in hopes to see the Lord wt you here as he has been wt you elsewhere. O great is our need of such awakening gales of Heaven as you speak of in the last visit you made to Georgia, &c. V. D. B. I hope you wont be offended that I have been so plain and kept nothing back that is in my heart upon this subject: if you fall in cordially wt the proposals above mention'd, & wd wish thereupon to know yet more of my heart, you wd find it almost panting within me, & saying, come (if possible) Dear Whitefield, come, come to us also, & the Lord wt you, & we will be ready to receive you into the arms of our most intimate fellowship.

What I have thus spoke, wd I think be the mind of all my Associate Bn & for qt I know of their adherents also. I think by what you tell me anent the errors sprung up among the Bn with you, the Lord designs not only to make you take deeper & deeper root in Christ & his precious truths, by the means of these shaking winds; but also is learning you to limit and restrict your extensive charity wtin due scriptural bounds. And acquainting you a little with separation ere you can come to us, who are nam'd Schismaticks & Separatists. But wisdom will be justify'd of her children, tho' they be as signs & wonders, even in Izrael. Truth is strong & shall prevail, however weak & impotent her reproached and upbraided friends are in themselves, & however many & mighty her adversaries be.

Within these two days I have seen the bitter queries sent you & your mild answer: blessed be the Lord that makes you like the industrious bee, to gather sweet honey out of bitter

flowers. Some of their observes will I hope work more & more for your good, advance your grouth, & further your caution & circumspection. Your docible & humble spirit, so willing to rectifie whatever seems wrong, will recommend you more & more to all that love Christ. As I did greatly disrelish the bitter spirit in which they wrote, so I noticed their legal strain in vindicating Tillotson & the Whole Duty of Man. I see them confound the Covt of Grace or Redemption that stands fast in Christ, with the divine method of the applicaⁿ and dispensation thereof in the Gospel; & confounding the condition of the Covenant (wᶜʰ alone is properly the doing & dying, or perfect Righteousness of Christ) with the dutys or marks of the covenanted, &c. My Bⁿ of the Associate Presbytery that I had occasion to converse with at Edinʳ very kindly received the expressions of your love. Your saying so humbly yᵗ you should be glad to sit at their feet & be taught the way of God more perfectly, wᵈ I think inspire any of 'em according to their measure, wᵗ an ardent desire to be the happy instruments of enlightening you more & more, and to have you to be the happy instrument of quickening them in the way of God. Thus D.B. my touching at all the particulars you write of to me has produced your wish, viz. a long letter, so long of writing that I have miss'd this day's post, so yᵗ I fear the next week be over, before this can come to your hand. I have not yet got the prints mention'd in your line, but if sent wᵗ Mr. Germant, he is my good acquaintance, & will take special care to send me them when he comes. D.B. I fear your clay Tabernacle can't long subsist wᵗ such continual labour as preaching twice daily; the oil still burning may waste the lamp too soon; you ought perhaps to take more care of it, that it be not consum'd even in spiritual flames. He that came to save souls, came not to destroy bodies, and wills mercy sometimes rather than sacrifice. May he that yet strengthens you for the present, preserve & continue you for a future & further blessing. And

if you can possibly come out of that throng for awhile, may we be favour'd w^t^ a visit & view of you face to face. Excuse me for coming over this again, my heart is full of it. Pray let me know first post that you are not displeas'd w^t^ the terms in q^ch^ I wrote you on this head. You're still dearer & dearer to me, & I think by your last Journal I saw, that you are still coming nearer & nearer to us. I observed your growing zeal for the Doctrine of Grace.

Pray excuse this excessively long letter. I think I have much more reason than you to say w^n^ I begin I know not how to leave off. I am

R^d^ & very dear B^r^

Yours in him who is (the best center of our love & union) the Lord our Righteousness,

Ralph Erskine

P.S.—D.B. Don't misconstruct the advice I give about care of your body, for as it may import 'a master spare yourself,' I retract it, & intend only such a care on one day as may not render the service of the next impracticable. But if you find your call to be clear, and bodily strength w^t^ spiritual furniture both on the growing hand & allow'd in an extraordinary way for your present extraordinary work, then go on in God's name, improving the talent He gives, & occupying till He come, & shew you how much more or less work he has for you. Some would not have even natural ability for such continued exercise. But when He sees fit to give what is supernatural, why not let it spend & be spent for him, to the purpose for which He gives it.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTS

FROM SOME OF THE

Funeral Sermons,

WHICH WERE PREACHED ON THE OCCASION OF

Mr. WHITEFIELD's DEATH.

Many sermons were preached upon occasion of his death, both in America and England. From these, though they contain nothing materially different from the above accounts, yet the reader will probably not be displeased to see the following extracts; as they not only set the character of Mr. Whitefield in a variety of lights, but are so many testimonies to it, by witnesses of undoubted credit, in different parts of the world.

The first was preached by Mr. Parsons, the very day on which he died,* from Phil. i. 21. "To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." And this is the character he gives of his departed friend:

* Early next morning, Mr. Sherburn, of Portsmouth, sent Squire Clarkson and Dr. Haven with a message to Mr. Parsons, desiring that Mr. Whitefield's remains might be buried in his own new tomb, at his own expence: and in the evening several gentlemen from Boston came to Mr. Parsons, desiring the body might be carried there. But as Mr. Whitefield had repeatedly desired he might be buried before Mr. Parsons's pulpit, if he died at Newbury-Port. Mr. Parsons thought himself obliged to deny both of these requests.—The following account of his interment is subjoined to this sermon, viz. "October 2, 1770. At one o'clock all the bells in town were tolled for half an hour, and all the vessels in the harbour gave their proper signals of mourning. At two o'clock the bells tolled a second time. At three the bells called to attend the funeral. The Rev. Dr. Samuel Haven, of Portsmouth, the Rev. Messrs. Daniel Rogers, of Exeter, Jedediah Jewet, and James Chandler, of Rowley, Moses Parsons, of Newbury, and Edward Bass, of Newbury-Port, were pall-bearers. The procession was from the Rev. Mr. Parsons's, of Newbury-Port, where Mr. Whitefield died. Mr. Parsons and his family, together with many other respectable persons, followed the corpse in mourning. The procession was only one mile, and then the corpse was carried into the Presbyterian

" Christ became a principle of spiritual life in his soul, while he was an under-graduate at the University in Oxford. Before his conversion he was a Pharisee of the Pharisees, as strict as ever Paul was, before God met him on his way to Damascus, according to his own declaration in his last sermon, which I heard him preach at Exeter, yesterday. He was, by means of reading, a very searching, puritanical writer, convinced of the rottenness of all the duties he had done, and the danger of a self-righteous foundation of hope. When he heard Christ speak to him in the gospel, he cried, ' Lord, what wilt thou have

---

church, and placed on the bier in the broad alley; when the Rev. Mr. Rogers made a very suitable prayer in the presence of about six thousand persons, within the walls of the church, while many thousands were on the outside, not being able to find admittance. Then, the third hymn of the second book of Dr. Watts's spiritual songs was sung by the congregation. After this, the corpse was put into a new tomb, before Mr. Parsons's pulpit, which the gentlemen of the congregation had prepared for that purpose; and before it was sealed, the Rev. Mr. Jewet gave a suitable exhortation. The following Inscription and Epitaph are from the pen of the Rev. Thomas Gibbons, S.T.P.

In Reverendum Virum
GEORGIUM WHITEFIELD,
Laboribus sacris olim abundantem; nunc vero, ut bene speratur cœlestem et immortalem vitam cum Christo agentem.

EPITAPHIUM.
(Auctore Thoma Gibbons, S. T. P.)

Electum et divinum vas, Whitefielde, fuisti
Ingenio pollens, divitiisque sacris:
His opibus populo longe lateque tributis,
Tandem perfrueris lætitia superum
Inque hanc intrasti, Domino plaudente ministrum:
Expertum in multis, assiduumque bonum.
Ecce mei portus, et clara palatia cœli
Deliciis plenis omnia aperta tibi.
Dum matutinam Stellam, quam dulce rubentem;
Vivificos roresque ossa sepulta manent.

Englished thus:

A vessel chosen and divine, replete
With nature's gifts, and grace's richer stores,
Thou Whitefield wast: these thro' the world dispens'd,
In long laborious travels, thou at length
Hast reach'd the realms of rest, to which thy Lord
Has welcom'd thee with his immense applause.
All hail, my servant, in thy various trusts
Found vigilant and faithful: see the ports,
See the eternal kingdoms of the skies,
With all their boundless glory, boundless joy
Open'd for thy reception, and thy bliss.
Mean-time, the body in its peaceful cell
Reposing from its toils, awaits the star,
Whose living lustres lead that promised morn,
Whose vivifying dews thy moulder'd corse
Shall visit, and immortal life inspire.

me to do?' And it seems as if, at that time, it had been made known to him that he was a chosen vessel, to bear the name of Christ Jesus, through the British nation and her colonies: to stand before kings and nobles, and all sorts of people, to preach Christ, and him crucified. From that time the dawns of salvation had living power in his heart, and he had an ardent desire to furnish himself for the gospel-ministry. To this end, besides the usual studies at the college, he gave himself to reading the holy scriptures, to meditation and prayer; and particularly, he read Mr. Henry's Annotations on the Bible, upon his knees before God.

"Since my first acquaintance with him, which is about thirty years ago, I have highly esteemed him, as an excellent christian, and an eminent minister of the gospel. An heart so bent for Christ, with such a sprightly, active genius, could not admit of his stated, fixed residence, in one place, as the pastor of a particular congregation; and therefore, he chose to itinerate from place to place, and from one country to another; which indeed was much better suited to his talents, than a fixed abode would have been. I often considered him as an angel flying through the midst of heaven, with the everlasting gospel, to preach unto them that dwell on the earth; for he preached the uncorrupted word of God, and gave solemn warnings against all corruptions of the Gospel of Christ.* When he came the first time to Boston, the venerable Dr. Coleman (with whom I had a small acquaintance), condescended to write to me, 'That the wonderful man was come, and they had a week of Sabbaths; that his zeal for Christ was extraordinary; and that he recommended himself to his many thousand hearers, by his engagedness for holiness and souls.' I soon had opportunity to observe that wherever he flew, like a flame of fire, his ministry gave a general alarm to all sorts of people, though before, they had, for a long time, been amazingly sunk down into dead formality. It was then a time in New England, that real Christians generally had slackened their zeal for Christ, and fallen into a remiss and careless frame of spirit; and hypocritical professors were sunk into a deep sleep of carnal security. Ministers, and their congregations, seemed to be at ease. But his preaching appeared to be from the heart, though too many, who spake the same things, preached as if it were indifferent, whether they were received or rejected. We were convinced that he believed the message he

* This may be a proper place to mention what the compiler is just now informed of. The late Dr. Grosvenor, who was reputed one of the most eminent divines of his time, upon hearing Mr. Whitefield preach at Charles-square, Hoxton, about the year 1741, expressed himself in these very strong terms, in the presence of a very respectable gentleman now living, "That if the Apostle Paul had preached to this auditory, he would have preached in the same manner."

brought us, to be of the last importance. Nevertheless, as soon as there was time for reflection, the enemies of Christ began to cavil and hold up some of his sallies, as if they were unpardonable faults, By such means he met with a storm as tempestuous as the troubled sea, that casts up mire and dirt. Some of every station were too fond of their old way of formality, to part with it, for such a despised cause as living religion. But the spirit of Christ set home the message of the Lord upon the consciences of some, and shook them off from their false hopes: but many began to find fault, and some to write against his evangelizing through the country, while others threatened fire-brands, arrows, and death. Yet God gave room for his intense zeal to operate, and fit objects appeared, wherever he went, to engage him in preaching Christ, and him crucified.

"In his repeated visits to America, when his services had almost exhausted his animal spirits, and his friends were ready to cry, 'Spare thyself,' his hope of serving Christ, and winning souls to him, animated and engaged him to run almost any risque. Neither did he ever cross the Atlantic, on an itinerating visitation, without visiting his numerous brethren here, to see how religion prospered amongst them: and we know that his labours have been unwearied among us, and to the applause of all his hearers; and, through the infinite mercy of God, his labours have sometimes been crowned with great success, in the conversion of sinners, and the edification of saints. And though he often returned from the pulpit very feeble, after public preaching, yet his engaging sweetness of conversation, changed the suspicions of many, into passionate love and friendship.

"In many things his example is worthy of imitation; and, if in any thing he exceeded, or came short, his integrity, zeal for God, and love to Christ and his gospel, rendered him, in extensive usefulness, more than equal to any of his brethren. In preaching here, and through most parts of America, he has been in labours more abundant, approving himself a minister of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in watchings, in fastings; by pureness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as having nothing, yet possessing all things. And God, that comforteth those that are cast down, has often comforted us by his coming; and not by his coming only, but by the consolation wherewith he was comforted in us, so that we could rejoice the more.

"His popularity exceeded all that ever I knew; and, though the asthma was sometimes an obstruction to him, his delivery and entertaining method was so inviting to the last, that it would command the attention of the vast multitudes of his hearers. An apprehension of his concern to serve the Lord Jesus Christ, and do good to the souls of men, drew many thousands after

him, who never embraced the doctrines he taught. He had something so peculiar in his manner, expressive of sincerity in all he delivered, that it constrained the most abandoned to think, he believed what he said was not only true, but of the last importance to souls; and by adapted texts adduced, and instances of the grace of God related agreeable thereto, he often surprised his most judicious hearers.

"His labours extended not only to New England, and many other colonies in British America, but were eminent and more abundant in Great Britain. Many thousands at his Chapel and Tabernacle in London, and in other places, were witnesses that he faithfully endeavoured to restore the interesting doctrines of the Reformation, and the purity of the church to its primitive glory. Some among the learned, some of the mighty and noble have been called, by his ministry, to testify for the gospel of the grace of God. The force of his reasonings against corrupt principles, and the easy method he had in exposing the danger of them, have astonished the most that heard him, in all places where he preached. How did he lament and withstand the modern, unscriptural notions of religion and salvation, that were palmed upon the churches of every denomination! The affecting change from primitive purity to fatal heresy, together with the sad effects of it in mere formality and open wickedness, would often make him cry, as the prophet did in another case, 'How is the gold become dim, and the most fine gold changed? How hath the Lord covered the daughter of Zion with a cloud, in his anger, and cast down from heaven to earth the beauty of Israel.?'

"It is no wonder that this man of God should meet with enemies, and with great opposition to his ministry; for hell trembled before him. It is no more than may be always expected of the devil, that he should stir up his servants, to load the most eminent ministers of Christ with calumny, and most impudent lies; and represent them as the filth, and off-scouring of all things. All this may be, and often has been done, under a pretence of great concern for the honour of Christ, and the preservation of gospel-order. When Satan's kingdom totters, and begins to fall, he can find men enough to cry 'The church is in danger!' and that, he knows, is sufficient with many, to hide his cloven foot, and make him appear as an angel of light.

"Through a variety of such labours and trials, our worthy friend, and extensively useful servant of Christ, Mr. Whitefield, passed, both in England and America: but the Lord was his sun, to guide and animate him, and his shield to defend and help him unto the end: neither did he count his own life dear, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry that

he had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God. The last sermon that he preached, though under the disadvantage of a stage in the open air, was delivered with such clearness, pathos, and eloquence, as to please and surprise the surrounding thousands. And as he had been confirmed by the Grace of God, many years before, and had been waiting and hoping for his last change, he then declared, that he hoped it was the last time he should ever preach. Doubtless he then had such clear views of the blessedness of open vision, and the complete fruition of God in Christ, that he felt the pleasures of heaven in his raptured soul, which made his countenance shine like the unclouded sun."

The next sermon was preached by Dr. Pemberton, of Boston,* October 11, 1770, upon 1 Pet. i. 4. "To an inheritance—reserved in heaven for you." In which he says:

" I am not fond of funeral panegyrics. But where persons have been distinguishingly honoured by heaven, and employed to do uncommon service for God's church upon earth, it would

*The following lines are part of a poem on Mr. Whitefield, which is published along with this sermon, written by a negro servant girl, of seventeen years of age; and who has been but nine years from Africa, belonging to Mr. J. Wheatley, of Boston.

He pray'd that grace in every heart might dwell;
He long'd to see America excel;
He charg'd its youth to let the grace divine
Arise, and in their future actions shine.
He offer'd that he did himself receive,
A greater gift not God himself can give.
He urg'd the need of Him to every one;
It was no less than God's co-equal Son.
Take Him, ye wretched, for your only good;
Take Him, ye starving souls, to be your food.
Ye thirsty, come to this life-giving stream;
Ye preachers, take Him for your joyful theme.
Take Him, my dear Americans, he said,
Be your complaints in his kind bosom laid.
Take him, ye Africans; he longs for you:
Impartial Saviour is his title due.
If you will choose to walk in grace's road,
You shall be Sons, and Kings, and Priests, to God.
Great Countess! we Americans revere
Thy name, and thus condole thy grief sincere.
New England, sure, doth feel; the Orphan's smart
Reveals the true sensations of his heart.—
His lonely Tabernacle sees no more
A Whitefield landing on the British shore.
Then let us view him in yon azure skies,
Let every mind with this lov'd object rise.
Thou tomb, shalt safe retain thy sacred trust,
Till life divine re-animates his dust.

be criminal ingratitude to suffer them to drop into the dust without the most respectful notice, 'The memory of the just is blessed!' Posterity will view Mr. Whitefield, in many respects, as one of the most extraordinary characters of the present age. His zealous, incessant, and successful labours, in Europe and America, are without a parallel.

"Devoted early to God, he took orders as soon as the constitution of the established church in England allowed. His first appearance in the work of the ministry was attended with surprising success. The largest churches in London were not able to contain the numbers that perpetually flocked to hear his awakening discourses. The crowds daily increased. He was soon forced into the fields, followed by multitudes, who hung with silent attention upon his lips, and with avidity received the word of life. The spirit of God, in uncommon measure, descended upon the hearers. The secure were awakened to a salutary fear of divine wrath; and inquiring minds were directed to Jesus, the only Saviour of a revolted world. The vicious were visibly reclaimed, and those who had hitherto rested in a form of godliness, were made acquainted with the power of a divine life. The people of God were refreshed with the consolation of the blessed spirit, and rejoiced to see their exalted master, going on from conquering to conquer; and sinners of all orders and characters, bowing to the sceptre of a crucified Saviour.

"His zeal could not be confined within the British islands. His ardent desire for the welfare of immortal souls, conveyed him to the distant shores of America. We beheld a new star arise in the hemisphere of these western churches; and its salutary influences were diffused through a great part of the British settlements in these remote regions. We heard with pleasure, from a divine of the Episcopal communion, those great doctrines of the gospel, which our venerable ancestors brought with them from their native country. With a soul elevated above a fond attachment to forms and ceremonies, he inculcated that pure and unadulterated religion, for the preservation of which our fathers banished themselves into an uncultivated desert. In his repeated progresses through the colonies, he was favoured with the same success which attended him on the other side of the Atlantic. He preached from day to day in thronged assemblies; yet his hearers never discovered the least weariness, but always followed him with increasing ardour. When in the pulpit, every eye was fixed upon his expressive countenance; every ear was charmed with his melodious voice, all sorts of persons were captivated with the propriety and beauty of his address.

"But it is not the fine speaker, the accomplished orator that we are to celebrate from the sacred desk; these engaging

qualities, if not sanctified by divine grace, and consecrated to the service of heaven, are as the sounding brass, and the tinkling cymbal. When misimproved, instead of conveying happiness to mankind, they render us more illustriously miserable.

"The gifts of nature, the acquisitions of art, which adorned the character of Mr. Whitefield, were devoted to the honour of God, and the enlargement of the kingdom of our divine Redeemer. While he preached the Gospel, the Holy Ghost was sent down to apply it to the consciences of the hearers; the eyes of the blind were opened, to behold the glories of the compassionate Saviour; the ears of the deaf were unstopped, to attend to the invitations of incarnate love; the dead were animated with a divine principle of life; many, in all parts of the land, were turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. These doctrines, which we had been instructed in from our infancy by our faithful pastors, seemed to acquire new force, and were attended with uncommon success when delivered by him. His discourses were not trifling speculations, but contained the most interesting truths; they were not an empty play of wit, but solemn addresses to the hearts of men.

"To convince sinners that they were by nature children of wrath; by practice, transgressors of the divine law; and in consequence of this, exposed to the vengeance of offended heaven; to display the transcendant excellency of a Saviour, and persuade awakened minds to confide in his merits and righteousness, as the only hope of a guilty world; to impress upon the professors of the Gospel the necessity, not only of an outward reformation, but an internal change, by the powerful influences of the Spirit; to lead the faithful to a zealous practice of the various duties of the Christian life, that they may evidence the sincerity of their faith, and adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour; these were the reigning subjects of his pulpit discourses.

"If sinners were converted; if saints were built up in faith, holiness, and comfort, he attained his utmost aim.

"He was no contracted bigot, but embraced Christians of every denomination in the arms of his charity, and acknowledged them to be children of the same father, servants of the same master, heirs of the same undefiled inheritance.

"That I am not complimenting the dead, but speaking the words of truth and soberness, I am persuaded I have many witnesses in this assembly.

"He was always received by multitudes with pleasure, when he favoured these parts with his labours; but he never had a more obliging reception than in his last visit. Men of the first distinction in the province, not only attended his ministry, but

gave him the highest marks of their respect. With what faithfulness did he declare unto us the whole counsel of God? With what solemnity did he reprove us for our increasing degeneracy? With what zeal did he exhort us, to remember from whence we were fallen, and repent and do our first works, lest God should come and remove our candlestick out of its place.

"Animated with a God-like design of promoting the temporal and spiritual happiness of mankind, after the example of his Divine Master, he went about doing good. In this he persevered with unremitting ardour and assiduity, till death removed him to that rest which remains for the people of God. Perhaps no man, since the apostolic age, preached oftener or with greater success.*

"If we view his private character, he will appear in a most amiable point of light. The polite gentleman; the faithful

---

* As a specimen of his indefatigable labours in the work of the ministry, I have set down an account of the sermons he preached after his arrival at New-Port, Rhode-Island, to the time of his death. He sailed from New York, Tuesday, July 31, P. M. arrived at New-Port, Friday, August 3, A. M. and preached

August 4. At New-Port
——— 5. New-Port
——— 6. New-Port
——— 7. New-Port
——— 8. New-Port
——— 9. Providence
——— 10. Providence
——— 11. Providence
——— 12. Providence
——— 13. Attleborough
——— 14. Wrentham
——— 15. Boston
——— 16. Boston
——— 17. Boston
——— 18. Boston
——— 19. Malden
——— 20. Boston
——— 21. Boston
——— 22 Boston
——— 23. Boston
August 24. At Boston
——— 25. Boston
——— 26. Medford
——— 27. Charles-Town
——— 28. Cambridge
——— 29. Boston
——— 30. Boston
——— 31. Roxbury-Plain
Septem. 1. Milton
——— 2. Roxbury
——— 3. Boston
——— 5. Salem
——— 6. Marble-Head
——— 7. Salem
——— 8. Cape-Ann
——— 9. Ipswich
——— 10. Newbury-Port
——— 11. Newbury-Port
——— 12. Rowley
——— 13. Rowley

"From the 13th of September to the 17th, he was detained from public service by a severe indisposition. When recovered he preached

Septem. 17. At Boston
——— 18. Boston
Septem. 19. At Boston
——— 20. Newton

"The 21st of September he departed from Boston upon a tour to the eastward, pretty much indisposed. But on the 23d he preached

Septem. 23. At Portsmouth, New Hampshire
——— 24. Portsmouth
——— 25. Portsmouth
Septem. 26. At Kittery
——— 27. Old-York
——— 28. Portsmouth
——— 29. Exeter.

friend; the engaging companion; above all, the sincere christian, were visible in the whole of his deportment.

"With large opportunities of accumulating wealth, he never discovered the least tincture of avarice. What he received from the kindness of his friends, he generously employed in offices of piety and charity. His benevolent mind was perpetually forming plans of extensive usefulness. The Orphan-house, which many years ago he erected in Georgia, and the college he was founding in that province at the time of his death, will be lasting monuments of his care, that religion and learning might be propagated to future generations.

"I have not, my brethren, drawn an imaginary portrait, but described a character exhibited in real life. I have not mentioned his natural abilities, which were vastly above the common standard. I consider him principally in the light of a Christian, and a minister of Jesus Christ, in which he shone with a superior lustre, as a star of the first magnitude.

"After all, I am not representing a perfect man; there are spots in the most shining characters upon earth. But this may be said of Mr. Whitefield with justice, that after the most public appearances for above thirty years, and the most critical examination of his conduct, no other blemish could be fixed upon him, than what arose from the common frailties of human nature, and the peculiar circumstances which attended his first entrance into public life.

"The imprudencies of unexperienced youth, he frequently acknowledged from the pulpit with a frankness which will for ever do honour to his memory. He took care to prevent any bad consequences that might flow from his unguarded censures in the early days of his ministry. The longer he lived, the more he evidently increased in purity of doctrine, in humility, meekness, prudence, patience, and the other amiable virtues of the Christian life."

Another funeral sermon on Mr. Whitefield was preached by Mr. Ellington, at Savannah,* in Georgia, November 11, 1770, upon Heb. xi. 26. "Esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt: for he had respect unto the recompence of the reward." In which are the following passages:

* "Savannah-church was decently hung with mourning, by the legislative body of the Province."

The same public marks of regard were shewn at one of the churches in Philadelphia, of which Mr. Sproutt is pastor, which, by desire of the session and committee, was put into mourning. Also, at their desire and expence, the bells of Christ-church, in that city, were rung muffled.

"The receiving the melancholy news of the much lamented death of a particular friend to this province, a person who was once minister of this church, is the reason of this discourse; and my choice of this subject before us is, to pay my grateful respect to the memory of this well-known, able minister of the New Testament, and faithful servant of the most High God, the Rev. George Whitefield; whose life was justly esteemed, and whose death will be greatly regretted, by the sincerely religious part of mankind of all denominations, as long as there is one remaining on earth, who knew him, to recollect the fervor of spirit, and holy zeal with which he spake, when preaching the everlasting Gospel; and every other part of his disinterested conduct, consistent with the ministerial character, in life and conversation. Mr. Whitefield's works praise him loud enough; I am not able to say any thing that can add greater lustre to them. May every one that ministers in holy things, and all who partake of their ministrations, have equal right to the characteristic in the text as he had.

"It is the ruling opinion of many, that the offence of the cross is long since ceased, and that whatever ill-treatment some of the singular turn may meet with, it is only the fruit of their own doings, and the reward of their own work, whereby they raise the resentment of mankind against them for uncharitable slander, and spiritual abuse. But whoever knoweth any thing of the Gospel, and hath experienced it to be the power of God unto salvation, knoweth this is the language of persons who are unacquainted with the depravity of their nature, and through the degeneracy of their hearts, are unwilling to be disturbed; therefore are saying to the ministers of Christ, 'Prophecy unto us smooth things.' But the ministers of the Gospel are to be sons of thunder, and so to utter their voice, and conduct their lives, as to prove the nature of their work.

"Our dear and reverend friend was highly honoured for many years in being an happy instrument to do this successfully. With what a holy zeal he proceeded, long before he was publicly ordained to the sacred office, has been long attested; and no person has been able to contradict the testimony. No sooner did he appear in the work of the sanctuary, but he soon convinced his numerous auditories, that his Almighty Lord who had given him the commission, had by his grace wrought him for the self-same thing; and through the Holy Spirit, attending his endeavours, made him a workman that needed not to be ashamed. One would think his great success in his public labours, the frequent opportunities he embraced of doing good, by the relief of people in distressing circumstances, every occasion he took to use his influence for the good of mankind, and the whole of his behaviour through a life of fifty-six years,

being (so far as the frailty of our present state will admit) unblameable and unreproveable, should have exempted him from contempt and reproach. But, quite the contrary, there was so near a resemblance with his blessed master, that it obliged him to bear his reproach. He has suffered with him on earth, and he is now glorified with him in heaven. He has laboured abundantly, and he has been as liberally reproached and maligned from every quarter. Clergy and laity have whet their tongues like a sword against him, and bent their bows to shoot their arrows; but the Lord, amongst all, has known and approved his righteous servant. Though it is well known he has had opportunity long since to enjoy episcopal emolument, yet, in his opinion (and it will be found he judged like a wise man in the end) sinners, through his instrumentality, being turned unto the Lord, and becoming his joy, and crown of rejoicing, in the day of our Lord Jesus, was esteemed a greater honour than any this world could afford him. His longing desire for the salvation of immortal souls, would not admit of his being confined within the district of any walls; though it must be acknowledged, he never thought of commencing field-preacher, till his invidious enemies refused him church pulpits, with indignation of spirit unbecoming the lowest and vulgar class of mankind, much less men professing themselves preachers of Godliness. Though he has, throughout the whole course of his ministry, given sufficient proof of his inviolable attachment to our happy establishment, he was desirous to countenance the image of Christ wherever he saw it, well knowing, that political institutions in any nation whatever, should not destroy the blessed union, or prevent the communion which ought to subsist throughout the Holy Catholic Church, between real and sincere Christians of all denominations. Some people may retain such a veneration for apostolic phrases as to suppose they ought not to be applied to other persons; sorry am I to observe, that few deserve the application of them. But of Mr. Whitefield we may say with the strictest truth, in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils of his own countrymen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren, in weariness and painfulness, he hath approved himself a minister of God. All who knew and were acquainted with him, soon discovered in him every mark of good sense and good manners; his company and conversation were so enlivening and entertaining, and at the same time so instructive and edifying, that no person with the least degree of common sense, could behave improperly in his presence. In him met (which do not often meet in one person) the finished and compleat gentleman, and the real and true Christian. Why then did he take pleasure in reproaches, and submit to the taunts

and insults both of the vulgar and politer part of mankind? He had respect to the recompence of the reward. Though the believer's work will never entitle him to a reward of debt, yet the reward of grace will always excite a holy desire to render something unto the Lord: What wouldst thou have me d· ? is the incessant inquiry of that soul, who, by the merits of the Redeemer's death, and the virtue of his precious blood, is redeemed from sin and made a partaker of the inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away. Faith operates by good works: and let all the men of the world say to the contrary, or put ever so base a construction upon our doctrine, it will evidence itself by these good fruits. It was from these principles that Mr. Whitefield acted, and they were productive of the desired effects; not only in alms-giving, this was but a small matter, when compared with the happier and more important attempt which he made for the good of mankind, at the hazard of his life, and the expence of an unblemished character How he has preached with showers of stones, and many other instruments of malice and revenge about his ears, many of his surviving friends can witness; but having the salvation of sinners at heart, and a great desire to rescue them from the power of eternal death, he resolved to spend and be spent for the service of precious and immortal souls: and spared no pains, and refused no labour, so that he might but administer to their real and eternal good: and glory be to our good God, he hath persevered and endured to the end of his life, having respect unto the recompence of the reward Surely nothing else could support him under such a weight of care, and enable him, amidst it all, for so many years, to bear it with so much cheerfulness. The worthy inhabitants of this province do not want my attestation, either to the loss the province has sustained, or to the desire he has had for its prosperity. His indefatigable endeavours to promote it, and the many fervent prayers he has night and day offered for it, speak loud enough. Happy omens we would hope in favour of it, both as to its temporal increase, and spiritual prosperity, May God raise up some useful men to supply hisplace, and carry on unto perfection what he hath so disinterestedly began, that the institution he hath founded in this province may be of public utility to the latest posterity! As to his death, little more can be said of it, than has been communicated to the public already. He died like a hero in the field of battle; he has been fighting the battle of the Lord of Hosts upwards of thirty years, against the world, sin, and Satan; and he hath been a conqueror, he hath fought successfully; many, very many, converted sinners are the trophies of his victory; but now his warfare is accomplished, the Captain of his salvation hath granted him a discharge, he is entered into his everlasting rest,

and is reaping the benefits of a life sincerely dedicated to the service of the once crucified, but now exalted Jesus. He preached the day before his decease: though his death was sudden, he was not surprised; the morning of his departure, not many hours before his spirit took its flight to the regions of bliss, he prayed to the God of his salvation, and committed his departing soul into his hands, as his faithful Creator and all-merciful Redeemer. Soon after he said, 'I am near my end,' then fell asleep; he fainted, and died! not one sigh, or groan—the Lord heard his prayer, and granted him his request, and gave him an easy dismission out of time into eternity: sudden death was his desire, and sudden death was to him sudden glory. He has fought the good fight; few, if any, since the Apostles, hath been more extensively useful, or laboured more abundantly. Thousands, I believe, I may with propriety say, in England, Scotland, and America, have great reason to bless God for his ministrations; for he hath travelled far and wide, proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation, through faith in a crucified Saviour. Adorable Emmanuel, make thou up the loss of him to thy church and people! Let a double portion of thy spirit be poured out upon the remaining ministers! Let that holy fire which burnt so bright in thy departed servant, warm each of their hearts! And, O thou Lord of the harvest, send forth more such true and faithful labourers into thy harvest!"

A number of funeral sermons were preached for him in England as well as in America. In one by Mr. D. Edwards, November 11, 1770, upon Heb. xi. 4. "By it he being dead, yet speaketh," we have the following character of Mr. Whitefield:

"1. The ardent love he bore to the Lord Jesus Christ was remarkable. This divine principle constrained him to an unwearied application to the service of the gospel, and transported him, at times, in the eyes of some, beyond the bounds of sober reason. He was content to be a fool for Christ's sake; to be despised, so Christ might be honoured; to be nothing, that Jesus might be all in all. He had such a sense of the incomparable excellence of the person of Christ, of his adorable condescension in taking our nature upon him, and enduring the curses of the holy law; his complete suitableness and sufficiency, as the wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption of his people, that he could never say enough of him. He was so convinced of the happy tendency and efficacy of this principle in his own mind, that he made use of it, and proposed it to others in the room of a thousand arguments, whenever he would, inculcate the most unreserved obedience to the whole will of

God, or stir up believers to a holy diligence in adorning the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things; inspired by this principle, nothing frightened or flattered him from his duty.

"2. Another pleasing ingredient in his character, and a sure evidence of the former, was love to the souls of mankind. He rejoiced in their prosperity as one that had found great spoil; and with St. Paul was willing to spend and be spent in promoting their happiness. He loved all who loved Jesus Christ in sincerity, however they might differ in some circumstantials. He embraced all opportunities to expose the malignant leaven of a party, and to remove prejudices and misapprehensions which good people too often entertain of one another, when under the influence of a sectarian humour.

"3. His attachment to the great doctrines of the Gospel was inflexible; having known their worth, and experienced their power in his own heart, he plainly saw, that though they were unacceptable to the carnal heart, yet they bore the plain impress of the infinite wisdom of God. Those important truths, which tend to humble the sinner, to exalt Christ, and promote holiness in heart and life, were his darling subjects. He did not disguise Gospel-truths by some artful sweetning, to render them more palatable to men of corrupt minds: he studied to preach the word in its purity, plainness, and simplicity. The warmth of his zeal disgusted many who make a mighty outcry about candour and charity, and are willing to extend it to every sentiment except the truths in which the Apostles gloried It was his love to the truths of God, and the souls of men, that led him to expose those who plead for the rectitude and excellency of human nature; deny the proper Godhead of Jesus Christ, justification by faith in his righteousness imputed, or the new-birth, and the absolute necessity of the operations of the Holy Ghost. Faith and holiness were ever united together in his system, in opposition to those who pretend to faith without obedience to the law of God as the rule of life. He knew errors in the great truths of the Gospel are not indifferent, but dreadful and fatal; he knew it was not candour and charity to say that errors in judgment are not hurtful, but the greatest unmercifulness and cruelty; therefore he often reproved such sharply.

"Although he was so tenacious of the foundation-truths of the Gospel, yet none more candid in things that are not essential; herein he was full of gentleness and forbearance. In things indifferent he became all things to all men.*

"4. To the foregoing particulars in Mr. Whitefield's character, I may add his zeal. His christian zeal was like the light of

* As to the difference between essentials and non-essentials in religion,

the sun, which did warm, shine, and cherish, but knew not to destroy; full of generous philanthropy and benevolence, his zeal made him exceeding earnest and importunate in his addresses to saints and sinners. His zeal returned blessings for curses, and prayers for ill treatment; it kindled in him a becoming indignation against the errors, follies, and sins of the times; it led him to weep bitterly over those who would not be persuaded to fly from the wrath to come: it made him bold and intrepid in the cause of God, and kept him from that flatness and deadness which are too visible in some good ministers. In these things he was an example to ministers of every denomination: and, if the limits of my discourse would admit, I could mention many things, as to his great charity to the poor, his humility, &c."

On Sunday, November 18, 1770, a sermon was preached on his death at the chapel in Tottenham-court-road, and at the Tabernacle, near Moorfields, by the Rev. Mr. John Wesley.* The text was, Numb. xxiii. 10. "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his." And in the sermon, after giving some particulars of his life and death, Mr. Wesley says:

"1. We are next to take some view of his character. A little sketch of this was soon after his death, published in the Boston Gazette: an extract of which is subjoined: 'Little can be said of him, but what every friend to vital christianity, who has sat under his ministry, will attest. In his public labours he has for many years astonished the world with his eloquence and devotion. With what divine pathos did he persuade the impenitent sinner to embrace the practice of piety and virtue: filled with the spirit of grace, he spoke from the heart, and with a fervency of zeal, perhaps unequalled, since the days of the Apostles, adorned the truths he delivered with the most graceful charms of rhetoric and oratory. From the pulpit he was unrivalled in the command of an ever-crowded auditory. Nor was he less agreeable and instructive in his private conversation;

Mr. Edwards refers to the Rev. Mr. Newton's "Review of Ecclesiastical History, so far as it concerns the progress, declensions, and revivals of Evangelical Doctrine and Practice."

* London Chronicle, November 19, 1770. "Yesterday the Rev. Mr. Wesley preached a funeral sermon on Mr. Whitefield's death, in the morning, at the chapel; and in the afternoon at the Tabernacle: the inside of each place was lined with black cloth, and an escutcheon hung on the pulpits. The multitudes that went with a design to hear the sermon exceed all belief. The Chapel and Tabernacle were both filled as soon as they were opened."

happy in a remarkable ease of address, willing to communicate, studious to edify: may the rising generation catch a spark of that flame which shone with such distinguished lustre in the spirit and practice of this faithful servant of the most high God.'

"2. A more particular and equally just character of him, has appeared in one of the English papers.* It might not be disagreeable to you, to add the substance of this likewise: 'The character of this truly pious person must be deeply imprest on the heart of every friend to vital religion. In spite of a tender and delicate constitution, he continued to the last day of his life, preaching with a frequency and a fervour that seemed to exceed the natural strength of the most robust. Being called to the exercise of his function at an age, when most young men are only beginning to qualify themselves for it, he had not time to make a very considerable progress in the learned languages: but this defect was amply supplied by a lively and fertile genius, by fervent zeal, and by a forcible and most persuasive delivery. And though in the pulpit he often found it needful, by the terrors of the Lord, to persuade men, he had nothing gloomy in his nature, being singularly chearful as well as charitable and tender-hearted. He was as ready to relieve the bodily as the spiritual necessities of those who applied to him. It ought also to be observed, that he constantly enforced upon his audience every moral duty, particularly industry in their several callings, and obedience to their superiors. He endeavoured by the most extraordinary efforts of preaching in different places, and even in the open-fields, to rouse the lower class of people, from the last degree of inattention and ignorance, to a sense of religion. For this, and his other labours, the name of George Whitefield will long be remembered with esteem and veneration.'

"3. That both these accounts are just and impartial, will readily be allowed; that is, as far as they go: but they go little farther than the outsides of his character; they shew you the preacher, but not the man, the Christian, the saint of God. May I be permitted to add a little on this head, from a personal knowledge of near forty years? Indeed, I am thoroughly sensible how difficult it is to speak on so delicate a subject; what prudence is required to avoid both extremes, to say neither too little, nor too much? Nay, I know it is impossible to speak at all, to say either less or more, without incurring from some the former, from others the latter censure. Some will seriously think that too little is said; and others, that it is too much, but without attending to this, I will speak just what I know, before Him to whom we are all to give an account.

"4. Mention has already been made of his unparalleled

* London Chronicle, November 8, 1770.

zeal, his indefatigable activity, his tender-heartedness to the afflicted, and charitableness towards the poor. But should we not likewise mention his deep gratitude to all whom God had used as instruments of good to him? Of whom he did not cease to speak in the most respectful manner, even to his dying day. Should we not mention that he had an heart susceptible of the most generous and the most tender friendship? I have frequently thought, that this, of all others, was the distinguishing part of his character. How few have we known of so kind a temper, of such large and flowing affections. Was it not principally by this, that the hearts of others were so strangely drawn and knit to him? Can any thing but love beget love? This shone in his very countenance, and continually breathed in all his words, whether in public or private. Was it not this, which, quick and penetrating as lightning, flew from heart to heart? Which gave that life to his sermons, his conversations, his letters? Ye are witnesses.

"5. But away with the vile misconstruction of men of corrupt minds, who know of no love, but what is earthly and sensual. Be it remembered, at the same time, that he was endued with the most nice and unblemished modesty. His office called him to converse very frequently and largely with women as well as men, and those of every age and condition. But his whole behaviour toward them, was a practical comment on that advice of St. Paul to Timothy, 'Entreat the elder women as mothers, the younger as sisters, with all purity.'

"6. Meantime, how suitable to the friendliness of his spirit, was the frankness and openness of his conversation? Although it was as far removed from rudeness on the one hand, as from guile and disguise on the other. Was not this frankness at once a fruit and a proof of his courage and intrepidity? Armed with these, he feared not the faces of men; but used great plainness of speech, to persons of every rank and condition, high and low, rich and poor; endeavouring only by manifestation of the truth, to commend himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God.

"7. Neither was he afraid of labour or pain, any more than of what man could do unto him, being equally

'Patient in bearing ill and doing well."

And this appeared, in the steadiness wherewith he pursued whatever he undertook, for his Master's sake: witness one instance for all, the Orphan-house in Georgia, which he began and perfected, in spite of all discouragements. Indeed, in whatever concerned himself, he was pliant and flexible; in this case he was easy to be entreated, easy to be either convinced or persuaded; but he was immoveable in the things of God, or

wherever his conscience was concerned. None could persuade any more than affright him to vary in the least point from that integrity which was inseparable from his whole character, and regulated all his words and actions. Herein he did

> 'Stand as an iron pillar strong
> And stedfast as a wall of brass.'

"8. If it be inquired, what was the foundation of this integrity, or of his sincerity, courage, patience, and every other valuable and amiable quality? it is easy to give the answer. It was not the excellence of his natural temper; not the strength of his understanding; it was not the force of education; no, nor the advice of his friends. It was no other than faith in a bleeding Lord; faith, of the operation of God. It was a lively hope of an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away. It was the love of God, shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Ghost, which was given unto him, filling his soul with tender, disinterested love to every child of man. From this source arose that torrent of eloquence which frequently bore down all before it. From this, that astonishing force of persuasion, which the most ardent sinners could not resist. This it was, which often made his head as waters, and his eyes a fountain of tears. This it was which enabled him to pour out his soul in prayer, in a manner peculiar to himself, with such fulness and ease united together, with such strength and variety both of sentiment and expression.

"9. I may close this head with observing, what an honour it pleased God to put upon his faithful servant, by allowing him to declare his everlasting Gospel in so many various countries, to such numbers of people, and with so great an effect on so many of their precious souls!"

On the same day (November 18, 1770), the Rev. Mr. Venn preached at the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel, at Bath, on Isaiah viii. 18. "Behold I and the children whom the Lord hath given me, are for signs and for wonders in Israel; from the Lord of Hosts, which dwelleth in Mount Zion."—The following hymn was sung:

I.

Servant of God, well done!
Thy glorious warfare's past:
The battle's fought, the race is won,
And thou art crown'd at last:
Of all thy heart's desire
Triumphantly possest;
Lodg'd by the ministerial quire
In thy Redeemer's breast.

II.

In condescending love
Thy ceaseless prayer he heard,
And bade thee suddenly remove
To thy compleat reward:
Ready to bring thee peace,
Thy beauteous feet were shod,
When mercy sign'd thy soul's release,
And caught thee up to God.

III.

With saints enthron'd on high
Thou dost thy Lord proclaim,
And still to God salvation cry,
Salvation to the Lamb!
O happy, happy soul,
In extasies of praise,
Long as eternal ages roll,
Thou seest thy Saviour's face.

IV.

Redeem'd from earth and pain,
Ah! when shall we ascend,
And all in Jesus' presence reign
With our translated friend!
Come, Lord, and quickly come!
And when in Thee complete,
Receive thy longing servants home,
To triumph at thy feet!

Of Mr. Whitefield, Mr. Venn says:—

"Though the children of Christ are all for signs and for wonders in Israel, yet do they differ as one star differs from another star in glory. Talents, grace, and zeal, eminently dignify some, and draw the eyes of men upon them. In the foremost of this rank, doubtless, is the Rev. Mr. Whitefield to be placed; for his doctrine was the doctrine of the reformers, of the Apostles, and of Christ; it was the doctrine of free grace, of God's everlasting love. Through Jesus he preached the forgiveness of sins, and perseverance in holy living, through his faithfulness and power engaged to his people. And the doctrine which he preached, he eminently adorned by his zeal, and by his works. For if the greatness, extent, success, and disinterestedness of a man's labour can give him distinction amongst the children of Christ, we are warranted to affirm, that scarce any one of his ministers, since the Apostles days, has exceeded, scarce any one has equalled Mr. Whitefield.

"What a sign and wonder was this man of God in the greatness of his labours! One cannot but stand amazed, that his mortal frame could, for the space of near thirty years, without interruption, sustain the weight of them. For what is so trying to the human frame, in youth especially, as long-continued, frequent and violent straining of the lungs? Who, that knows their structure, would think it possible, that a person, little above the age of manhood, should speak in the compass of a single week (and that for years) in general, forty hours, and in very many weeks, sixty, and that to thousands; and after this labour, instead of taking any rest, should be offering up prayers, intercessions, with hymns and spiritual songs, as his manner was in every house to which he was invited. The history of the Church of Christ affords but very few instances of men thus incessantly employing their whole strength, and as it were, every breath they drew, in the business of their sacred function. And the truth is, that, in point of labour, this extraordinary servant of God did as much in a few weeks, as most of those who exert themselves, are able to do in the space of a year. Thus labouring not by fits and starts, but with constancy and perseverance, and ardour unabated, his mortal frame, about nine

years since, began to sink under the weight of so much work. If, with the length and frequency of Mr. Whitefield's preaching, we consider the intenseness of voice and spirit with which he spoke, the greatness of his labours will appear perfectly astonishing: he knew not how to speak with less zeal, in his whole manner, than became the subjects of his discourse. The total ruin of the human race by the fall; the complete recovery of believers in Christ, his dying love, and the unsearchable riches of his grace, to be known experimentally in this life, though fully to be displayed in the next; and the infatuation of sinners, led captive by their lusts, down to the chambers of death: these grand truths, of more weight than words can paint, fired his whole soul; they transported him as much as earthly spirits are transported into vehemence when they contend personally for their own property; he cried out therefore, as his dear Lord was wont to do, with a voice audible to an amazing distance; hence, in a thousand instances, where the cause of God more coolly pleaded, would have been neglected, he gained it a hearing, and carried the day; for the unusual earnestness of the speaker roused the most stupid and lethargic: it compelled them to feel; the matter must be momentous indeed, which the speaker was urging as a man would plead for his own life. Early and often his body suffered for this very violent exertion of his strength: early and often his inside has bled a considerable quantity, and cried out, spare thyself; but, prodigal of life in the best of causes, he would give himself no rest; expecting very soon to finish his course, and infinitely desirous to save the souls condemned to die—he perished. Though this may be blamed as an excess, it was an excess far above the reach of a selfish mind, or an ordinary faith.

"Equal to the greatness and intenseness of his labours, was their extent. The abilities and grace of most teachers, have full employ in a small district, nor have common men talents for more. But when God lights up in the breast, an apostolic zeal for his own glory, an apostolic love for the souls of men, it seems reasonable to conclude, such an instrument is designed for the most extensive usefulness.

"Accordingly the compass of Mr. Whitefield's labours, exceeds any thing that others can pretend to. Not only in the south, the west, and north of England, did he lift up his voice, saying: 'Repent for the Kingdom of Heaven is come:' but in Wales, in Scotland, in Ireland, and America, from Georgia to Boston, vast multitudes in each country were witnesses of his zeal for the salvation of souls.

"And to crown all, he was abundantly successful in his vast labours, and disinterested too. The seals to his ministry, from first to last, I am persuaded, are more than would be credited,

could the number be fixed. This is certain, his amazing popularity was only from his usefulness; for he no sooner opened his mouth as a preacher, than God commanded an extraordinary blessing upon his word. The people were so deeply impressed with the sense of divine things from what he delivered, that, to his own great surprise, they followed him from church to church, until the largest churches in London could no longer contain a fourth part of the crowds, which pressed to hear the word of God from his lips.

"Should any one say, few in comparison, besides the low, ignorant, common people, were his followers; I would answer, the souls of the poor and ignorant, are to the full, as precious as those of the rich and learned: and the mob have shewn the justest discernment, and have received the truth, whilst men of wealth, and learning, and education, have trampled it under their feet. Witness the chief Scribes and Pharisees, who rejected both the Baptist and the Saviour, when the common people justified God, and gave them both the honour of being sent from him. Indeed, in every age, we see the Scripture fulfilled, 'Not many rich, not many mighty, not many wise men after the flesh are called; but God hath chosen the poor, rich in faith, and heirs of the Kingdom.'

"However, when the fierceness of prejudice was worn off, numbers, who at first despised him, taught to do so by gross slanders, were happy under his ministry. And this honour was put upon him even to the last. He had a much larger audience statedly to hear him, than any man in the whole kingdom, perhaps in all Christendom.

"And that this vast multitude of people were gathered, just as the primitive Churches of Christ, by the truth they heard, and the spiritual benefit they received under his word, is evident beyond a reasonable doubt. For if you trace his progress through the various cities and countries where he preached the Gospel, you will find, as the case was with St. Paul, so it was with this servant of Christ. Many were turned by him from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God, receiving remission of their sins, and an inheritance among those that are sanctified, through faith in Christ. Inquire of the effects of his labours, from the only proper judges, those who live in the religious world, and they will aver, that many within their own knowledge, small as that circle must be, confess they owe their own selves to this faithful witness for his Lord. Add to this, that the letters he received of grateful acknowledgment from persons of all ages and conditions in life, for the spiritual blessings he had conveyed to them, would fill whole volumes. Nay, it is a well known fact, that the conversion of men's souls has been the fruit of a single sermon from his lips; so eminently was he made of God,

a fisher of men. But he was not more successfulthan he was disinterested in his labours; for though a vast multitude (which must ever be the case with those whom God is pleased remarkably to own), followed him, he had still no ambition to stand as the head of a party. His great object was to exalt Christ crucified; and when his hearers were brought to the knowledge of salvation, his point was gained, and his soul was satisfied. Hence neither in his sermons, nor more private exhortations, did he cast disparaging reflections upon other preachers of Christ. No base suggestion dropt from his mouth, as if to differ from him must be owing to blindness in the judgment, or coldness of the heart for the interests of holiness. Truly cordial and catholic in his love for all who appeared to love the Lord Jesus in sincerity, he never desired to see his congregation increased by those who had evangelical pastors of their own. Further, in proof of his disinterestedness, consider what he gained by his labours—The scourge of the tongue was let loose upon him, and his name was loaded with the foulest calumnies; he was often in tumults, and more than once in danger of his life, by the rage of the people; he wore himself away in the service of souls; and when he died, he died quite exhausted by much speaking; but in his death, he received an immediate answer to his own prayer, 'That if it were consistent with the Divine Will, he might finish that day, his Master's work.'

"For such a life, and such a death (though in tears under our great loss), we must yet thank God. And though we are allowed to sorrow, because we shall never see or hear him again, we must rejoice that millions have heard him so long, so often, and to such good effect; that out of this mass of people, multitudes are gone before him, we doubt not, to hail his entrance into the world of glory; and that in every period of life, from childhood to hoary age, many of his children in the Lord are still to follow; all to be his crown of rejoicing: the only effectual, everlasting confutation of his adversaries; that he ran not in vain, nor laboured in vain."

Many more sermons were preached on Mr. Whitefield's death by the Rev. Messrs. Whitaker and Smith, of Charles-Town; Sproutt, of Philadelphia; Langford, Elliott, &c. &c. in which the descriptions of his character are the same in substance with those already given.*

* The Rev. Mr. De Courcy also wrote some elegiac lines, among which are the following:

Soon as the Spirit's unction from above,
Throughout his soul diffus'd the Saviour's love,

To be the subject of so many funeral sermons, both at home and abroad, is something singular; though quite suitable to his extraordinary manner of life. But it was still more singular, to have a sermon preached upon his personal and ministerial character, in his own life-time, and when he was but twenty-six years of age. This sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Josiah Smith, of Charles-Town, South Carolina, and was published at Boston, with a recommendatory preface by the Rev. Dr. Colman and Mr. Cooper, in the year 1740. Of this it is worth while to make a short extract, after all that has been said; that by comparing it with the funeral sermons, the reader may see how consistent and uniform Mr. Whitefield's conduct was, from that early period of his ministry, till his death.

A fire enkindled in his eager breast,
With pity burn'd to sinners lost—
Straight, like a trumpet, he his voice did raise,
The wonders of redeeming love to praise;
Of health regardless, all things did forego;
That sinners Jesus' boundless grace may know;
Where-e'er he preach'd, attentive crowds were seen,
Astonish'd at his youth and zealous mien:
Let Kennington, Blackheath, Moorfields declare,
How oft the Gospel-trumpet sounded there.
Nor could his zeal the vast Atlantic bound—
Throughout the western world he Christ displays,
And joyful news to Georgia's coast conveys.
There orphan's, yet unborn, shall weeping tell
How mourn'd, the founder of *Bethesda* fell—
The love of Jesus was his darling theme;
A heaven he felt in that dear precious name:
Hence when his heart with sacred ardour glow'd,
His tongue with promptest elocution flow'd.
With what compassion, energy, and fire,
Would he the guilty heart for Christ require!
Oft, while his Master's glorious grace he show'd,
An arrow dipt in Jesus' precious blood,
Th' aspiring sinner in the dust brought low,
And forc'd him at the bleeding cross to bow—
Whene'er he meant the power of sin to kill,
And carnal hearts with purest love to fill,
Transgressors he to Calvary's summit led,
Where Jesus, spotless victim, bowed his head.
But, as a glass, the sinner's guilt to show,
The law he brought with all its curse and woe;
The conscience wounded with this flaming sword,
While Sinai seem'd to thunder in his word.

After speaking of his doctrine concerning original sin—Justification by faith alone—Regeneration—The inward feelings of the Spirit—Mr. Smith adds :

" As to the manner of his preaching—With what a flow of words did he speak to us, upon the great concern of our souls! In what a flaming light did he set out eternity before us! How earnestly did he press Christ upon us! How close, strong, and pungent were his applications to the conscience; mingling light and heat; pointing the arrows of the Almighty at the heart of sinners, while he poured in the balm on the wounds of the contrite! How bold and courageous did he look! He was no flatterer. He taught the way of God in truth, and regarded not the persons of men. The politest and most modish of our vices he struck at, the most fashionable entertainments; regardless of every one's presence, but His in whose name he spake.

" As to his personal character, while he preaches up faith alone in our justification before God, he is careful to maintain good works. These things the grace of God teaches us. And how much of this doctrine has he transcribed into his life! How rich has he been in all good works! What an eminent patron of piety towards God! How holy and unblameable in all conversation and Godliness! How seasoned, how much to the use of edifying all his discourses! How naturally does he turn them to religion? How much is he given to devotion himself, and how does he labour to excite it in others!

But—whilst each terror of the Lord, and threat,
With zeal and faithfulness he did repeat,
He all dissolv'd in sorrow would appear,
While plenteous flow'd the sympathetic tear;
Like Jesus, who o'er bloody Salem mourn'd,
While wrath divine against it vengeful burn'd—
In prayer, with a peculiar gift endow'd,
Reverent before the throne of grace he bow'd;
In tears, like Jacob, with the Angel strove,
Prevail'd, like Israel, with the God of Love.—
For all he pray'd—and all in love receiv'd,
With heart capacious, who in Christ believ'd.
In him there dwelt a spirit generous, bold,
Unaw'd by threatenings, unallur'd by gold.
Preferments, honours, ease, he deem'd but loss,
Vile and contemptible for Jesus' cross.—
Enur'd to scandal, injuries and pain,
To him to live was Christ; to die was gain."

In a note upon the last paragraph, the author says, " Whoever is acquainted with Mr. Whitefield's life, well knows that I have not exaggerated matters. For in a visit to Ireland, he was solicited by the primate of that kingdom, to accept of some considerable church preferment; but declined the offer, because he looked upon himself as called to an itinerant life; and what makes this circumstance the more remarkable is, that Mr. Whitefield, at that time, had no prospect whatever, as to temporals.

"He affects no party in religion, nor sets himself at the head of any. He is not bigotted to the lesser rites and forms of religion, while zealous enough in all its essentials. He professes love to good men of every denomination. His heart seems set upon doing good. He goes about his great Master's work with diligence and application, and with such cheerfulness as would make one in love with a life of religion. He is proof against reproach and invective. When he is reviled, he revileth not again; but prays heartily for all his enemies.

"He renders to all their due. While zealous for the things of God, is a friend to Cæsar. And for charity, as it consists in compassion and acts of beneficence, we have few men like-minded. Had he been under any criminal influence of a mercenary temper; had he collected monies for himself in his journies, under the pretext of doing it for the poor, as he was slanderously reported, he had certainly a fair opportunity to enrich himself. But we have seen; and plain fact cannot be denied; that he casts all into the Treasury, and serves the tables of the poor with it. Strolling, and vagabond orphans, without father, and without mother, without purse, and without friend, he seeks out, picks up, and adopts into his family. He is now building accommodations, and laying the best foundation for their support and maintenance."

Thus far Mr. J. Smith, who had the pleasure of seeing this character of his friend verified in the whole of his future life; and who, in his funeral sermon, upon him, at Charles-Town, October 28, 1770, has this remarkable expression, concerning a visit he made to Mr. Whitefield, at his Orphan-house: "it was a scene that made me think I was in heaven."

By a paper, written with Mr. Whitefield's own hand, of the contents of his imperfect manuscript, frequently quoted in the above account of his life, it appears, that if he had lived to finish it, the conclusion would have been "Reflections upon the whole, containing arguments to prove the divinity of the work; and answers to objections against field-preaching—lay-preaching—irregularities—and the blemishes that have attended it."

As he did not live to execute this design, the reader is referred to what has been published upon the subject by the Rev. Messrs. Jonathan Edwards, Hobby,

Shurtliff, &c. The Rev. Mr. Newton preached a sermon, at Olney, November 11, 1770, on John, v. 35. "He was a burning and a shining light." In which he speaks of Mr. Whitefield; an extract of which follows:

"Some ministers are burning and shining lights in a peculiar and eminent degree. Such a one, I doubt not, was the servant of God whose death we now lament. I have had some opportunities of looking over the History of the Church in past ages, and I am not backward to say, that I have not read or heard of any person, since the Apostles days, of whom it may more emphatically be said, 'He was a burning and shining light,' than the late Mr. Whitefield, whether we consider the warmth of his zeal, the greatness of his ministerial talents, or the extensive usefulness with which the Lord honoured him. I do not mean to praise the man, but the Lord, who furnished him, and made him what he was. He was raised up to shine in a dark place. The state of religion, when he first appeared in public, was very low, in our established church. I speak the truth, though to some it may be an offensive truth. The doctrines of Grace, were seldom heard from the pulpit, and the life and power of godliness were little known. Many of the most spiritual among the dissenters were mourning under the sense of a great spreading declension on their side: what a change has taken place throughout the land, within a little more than thirty years, that is, since the time when the first set of despised ministers came from Oxford! and how much of this change has been owing to God's blessing on Mr. Whitefield's labours, is well known to many who have lived through this period; and can hardly be denied by those who are least willing to allow it. First, he was a burning light. He had an ardent zeal for God, an enflamed desire for the salvation of sinners. So that no labours could weary him, no difficulties or opposition discourage him, hardly any limits could confine him; not content with the bounds of a county, or a kingdom, this messenger of good tidings preached the everlasting Gospel in almost every considerable place in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and throughout the British empire in America. Which is an extent of more than a thousand miles. Most of these places he visited again and again: nor did he confine his attention to places of note, but in the former part of his ministry was ready to preach to few, as well as to many, wherever a door was opened; though in the latter part of his life, his frequent illness, and the necessity of his more immediate charge, confined him more at home. In some of his most early excursions, the good Providence of

God led him here, and many, I trust, were made willing to rejoice in his light, and have reason to bless God, that ever they saw and heard him. Secondly, he was a shining light: his zeal was not like wild-fire, but directed by sound principles, and a sound judgment. In this part of his character, I would observe, 1st. Though he was very young, when he came out, the Lord soon gave him a very clear view of the Gospel. In the sermons he published soon after his first appearance, there is the same evangelical strain observable, as in those which he preached in his advanced years. Time and observation, what he felt, and what he saw, enlarged his experience, and gave his preaching an increasing ripeness and savour, as he grew older in the work; but from first to last he preached the same Gospel, and was determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.

2dly. His steadiness and perseverance in the truth was the more remarkable, considering the difficulties and snares he was sometimes beset with. But the Lord kept him steady, so that neither the example, nor friendship, nor importunity of those he dearly loved, were capable of moving him.

3dly. The Lord gave him a manner of preaching which was peculiarly his own. He copied from none, and I never met any one who could imitate him with success. They who attempted, generally made themselves disagreeable. His familiar address, the power of his action, his marvellous talent in fixing the attention even of the most careless I need not describe to those who have heard him, and to those who have not, the attempt would be vain. Other ministers could, perhaps, preach the Gospel as clearly, and in general say the same things, but, I believe, no man living could say them in his way. Here I always thought him unequalled, and I hardly expect to see his equal while I live.

4thly. But that which finished his character as a shining light, and is now his crown of rejoicing was, the singular success which the Lord was pleased to give him in winning souls; what numbers entered the kingdom of glory before him, and what numbers are now lamenting his loss, who were awakened by his ministry? It seemed as if he never preached in vain. Perhaps there is hardly a place, in all the extensive compass of his labours, where some may not yet be found, who thankfully acknowledge him as their spiritual father. Nor was he an awakening preacher only, wherever he came; if he preached but a single discourse, he usually brought a season of refreshment and revival with him, to those who had already received the truth. Great as his immediate and personal usefulness was, his occasional usefulness (if I may so call it) was perhaps much greater. Many have cause to be thankful for him, who never saw or heard him. I have already observed, that there was something peculiar in his manner of preaching, in which no

person of sound judgment would venture to imitate him. But notwithstanding this, he was, in other respects, a signal and happy pattern and model for preachers. He introduced a way of close and lively application to the conscience, for which I believe many of the most admired and eminent preachers now living will not be ashamed, or unwilling to acknowledge themselves his debtors."

There was also a sermon preached on the occasion by the Rev. Mr. Samuel Brewer, of Stepney, London, which his modesty would not permit him to print. And many ministers, both of the Church, and among the Dissenters in England, amongst whom were the Rev. William Romaine, the Rev. Martin Madan, the Rev. Dr. Gibbons, and the Rev. Dr. Trotter, who, in their preaching and prayers, lamented the loss of so eminently faithful, and uncommonly successful a servant of God.

How highly the Rev. William Romaine thought of Mr. Whitefield, his own account of his death will best tell. "Look at the public loss, O what has the church suffered in the setting of that bright star, which had shone so gloriously in our hemisphere. Mr. Whitefield's preaching is over—now he is praising. We have none left to succeed him: none of his gifts: none any thing like him in usefulness."

The effect of Mr. Whitefield's death upon the inhabitants of the province of Georgia was so great, that all the black cloth in the stores was bought up; the pulpit and desks of the church, the branches, the organ-loft, the pews of the governor and council were covered with black. The governor and council in deep mourning, convened at the state-house, and went in procession to church, and were received by the organ playing a funeral dirge.

The same public marks of regard were shewn at one of the churches in Philadelphia, of which Mr. Sproutt was pastor, which, by the desire of the session and committee was put into mourning. Also, at their desire and expence, the bells of Christ church, in that city, were rung muffled.

THE following testimony to Mr. Whitefield's character is from the pen of the Rev. Augustus Montague Toplady, A.B. late vicar of Broad Hembury, Devon:—

"I deem myself happy, in having an opportunity of thus publicly avowing the inexpressible esteem in which I held this wonderful man; and the affectionate veneration which I must ever retain for the memory of one, whose acquaintance and ministry were attended with the most important spiritual benefit to me, and to tens of thousands beside.

"It will not be saying too much, if I term him *The Apostle of the English Empire:* in point of zeal for God, a long course of indefatigable and incessant labours, unparalleled disinterestedness, and astonishingly extensive usefulness.

"He was a true and faithful son of the church of England; and invincibly asserted her doctrines to the last; and that, not in a merely doctrinal way, though he was a most excellent systematic divine, but with an unction of power from God, unequalled in the present day.

"He would never have quitted even the walls of the church, had not either the ignorance, or the malevolence of some, who ought to have known better, compelled him to a seeming separation.

"If the absolute command over the passions of immense auditories be the mark of a consummate orator, he was the greatest of the age. If the strongest good sense, the most generous expansions of heart, the most artless but captivating affability, the most liberal exemptions from bigotry, the purest and most transpicuous integrity, the brightest cheerfulness and the promptest wit, enter into the composition of social excellence, he was one of the best companions in the world.

"If to be steadfast, immoveable, always abounding in the works of the Lord; if an union of the most brilliant, with the most solid ministerial gifts, ballasted by a deep and humbling experience of grace, and crowned with the most extended success in the conversion of sinners, and edification of saints, be signatures of a commission from heaven, George Whitefield cannot but stand highest on the modern list of christian ministers.

"England has had the honour of producing the greatest men in almost every walk of useful knowledge. At the head of these are:—1st, Archbishop BRADWARDIN, the prince of divines; 2d, MILTON, the prince of poets; 3d, Sir ISAAC NEWTON, the prince of philosophers; and 4th, WHITEFIELD, the prince of preachers.

"Bishop Benson was the prelate who had the distinguished

honour of ordaining the greatest, the most eloquent, and the most useful minister that has, perhaps, been produced since the days of the apostles.

"It appears, from a passage in one of Mr. Whitefield's own letters, published since his decease, that he was the person, whom the gracious spirit and providence of God raised up and sent forth, to begin that great work of spiritual revival in the church of England, which has continued ever since, and still continues, with increasing spread, to replenish and enrich the evangelical vineyard by law established. In the remarkable passage to which I refer, Mr. Whitefield expresses himself, verbatim, thus, to the Rev. John Wesley:—"As God was pleased to send me out first, and to enlighten me first, so, I think, he still continues to do it; my business seems to be chiefly in planting. If God sends you to water, I praise his name."—On the whole, he was the least imperfect character I ever knew; and yet, no person was ever more shockingly traduced and vilified by those who either were unacquainted with him, or who hated him for his virtues, and for his attachment to the gospel of Christ. But the pen of faithful history, and the suffrages of unprejudiced posterity, will do justice to the memory of a man, of whom the present generation was not worthy."

Cowper, the Poet, has given Mr. Whitefield's character in the following energetic lines, with the sincerity of a friend and the zeal of a Christian:—

LEUCONOMAS (beneath well-sounding Greek
I slur a name, a poet must not speak)
Stood pilloried on infamy's high stage,
And bore the pelting scorn of half an age.
The very butt of slander, and the blot
For ev'ry dart that malice ever shot.
The man that mention'd *him*, at once dismiss'd
All mercy from his lips, and sneer'd and hiss'd.
His crimes were such as Sodom never knew,
And perjury stood up to swear all true:
His aim was mischief, and his zeal pretence,
His speech rebellion against common sense:
A knave when tried on honesty's plain rule,
And when by that of reason a mere fool.
The world's best comfort was, his doom was pass'd,
Die when he might, he must be damn'd at last.
Now truth perform thine office, waft aside
The curtain drawn by prejudice and pride;
Reveal, (the man is dead) to wond'ring eyes,
This more than monster in his proper guise.
He loved the world that hated him: the tear
That dropp'd upon his bible was sincere.
Assail'd by scandal, and the tongue of strife,
His only answer was—a blameless life:

And he that forg'd, and he that threw the dart,
Had each a brother's interest in his heart.
Paul's love of Christ, and steadiness unbrib'd,
Were copied close in him, and well transcrib'd;
He followed Paul—his zeal a kindred flame,
His apostolic charity the same.
Like him cross'd cheerfully tempestuous seas,
Forsaking country, kindred, friend, and ease;
Like him he labour'd, and like him, content
To bear it, suffer'd shame where'er he went.
Blush calumny! and write upon his tomb,
If honest eulogy can spare thee room,
Thy deep repentance of thy thousand lies,
Which aim'd at him, have pierced th' offended skies;
And say, blot out my sin, confess'd deplor'd,
Against thine image in thy saint O Lord!

Characteristic Traits of Mr. Whitefield.

"The time," says one of his confidential friends, "which he set apart for preparations for the pulpit, was not to be distinguished from the time he appropriated to other business. If he wanted to write a pamphlet, upon any occasion, he was closeted, nor would he allow access to him, but on an emergency, while he was engaged in the work. I never knew him engaged in the composition of a sermon until he was on board ship, when he employed himself partly in the composition of sermons, and reading, very attentively, the history of England, by different authors. He had formed a design of writing the history of Methodism, but never entered upon it. He was never more in retirement on a Saturday than on another day; nor sequestered at any particular time for a period longer than he used for his ordinary devotions.

Usually for an hour or two before he went into the pulpit, he claimed retirement; and on a Sabbath day morning more particularly, he was accustomed to have Clarke's Bible, Matthew Henry's Comment, and Cruden's Concordance, within his reach: his frame at that time was more than ordinarily devotional; I say more than ordinarily, because, though there was a vast vein of pleasantry usually in him, the intervals of conversation evidently appeared to be filled up with private ejaculation connected with praise. His rest was much interrupted, and his thoughts were much engaged with God in the night. He has often said, at the close of his very warm address, "This sermon I got, when most of you who now hear me were fast asleep." He made very minute observations, and was much disposed to be conversant with life, from the lowest mechanic to the first

characters in the land. He let nothing escape him, but turned all into gold that admitted of improvement; and, in one way or other, the occurrence of the week or the day, furnished him with matter for the pulpit.—A specimen——when an extraordinary trial was going forward, he would be present; and, on observing the formality of the judge putting on his black cap to pronounce sentence, I have known him avail himself of it in the close of a sermon; with his eyes full of tears, and his heart almost too big to admit of speech, dropping into a momentary pause——"I am going now to put on my condemning cap: sinner, I must do it; I must pronounce sentence upon you"—and then, in a tremendous strain of eloquence, recite our Lord's words, "Go ye cursed," not without a very powerful description of the nature of the curse. It would be only by hearing him, and by beholding his attitude and his tears, that a person could well conceive of the effect; for it was impossible but that solemnity must surround him, who, under God, became the means of making all solemn.

He had a most peculiar art of speaking personally to you, in a congregation of four thousand people, when no one would suspect his object. It was truly impressive to see him ascend the pulpit. My intimate knowledge of him admits of my acquitting him of the charge of affectation. He always appeared to enter the pulpit with a significance of countenance, that indicated he had something of importance which he wanted to divulge, and was anxious for the effect of the communication. His gravity on his descent was the same. He was averse to much singing after preaching, supposing it diverted the savour of the subject. Nothing aukward, nothing careless appeared about him in the pulpit; nor do I ever recollect his stumbling upon a word. To his ordinary, as well as to his public appearance, this observation applies; whether he frowned or smiled, whether he looked grave or placid, it was nature acting in him.

"Professed orators might object to his hands being lifted up too high, and it is to be lamented that in that attitude, rather than in any other, he is represented in print. His own reflexions upon that print, when it was first put into his hands, were 'Surely I do not look such a sour creature as this sets me forth; if I thought I did, I should hate myself.' It is necessary to remark, that the attitude was very transient, and always accompanied by some expressions which would justify it. He sometimes had occasion to speak of Peter's going out and weeping bitterly, and then he had a fold of his gown at command, which he put before his face with as much gracefulness as familiarity.

"I hardly ever knew him go through a sermon without weeping more or less. His voice was often interrupted by his affection;

and I have heard him say in the pulpit, 'You blame me for weeping, but how can I help it, when you will not weep for yourselves, though your immortal souls are upon the verge of destruction, and for aught you know, you are hearing your last sermon, and may never more have an opportunity to have Christ offered to you.' The expressions of offering Christ was considered exceptionable by some good men, cotemporaries with him, whose judgment framed their phraseology; but, though Mr. Whitefield was orthodox, his affection and zeal were not to be restrained from using free address, while labouring for the conversion of sinners. The language had been sanctioned by the old divines; and in the Scriptures we more than once read of 'receiving Christ.' His freedom in the use of his passions often put my pride to the trial. I could not withstand his tears, and the scope he gave to his feelings, for sometimes he exceedingly wept, stamped loudly and passionately, and was frequently so overcome, that, for a few seconds, you would suspect he never would recover; and when he did, nature required some little time to compose herself. When he treated upon the sufferings of our saviour, it was not without great pathos. He was very ready at that kind of painting which frequently answered the end of real scenery. As though Gethsemane were within sight, he would say, stretching out his hand —'Look yonder! what is that I see! it is my agonizing Lord!' —And, as though it were no difficult matter to catch the sound of the Saviour praying, he would exclaim, 'Hark! Hark! do you not hear him?'—It may be thought, that as this occurred frequently, the efficacy of it was destroyed; but, no; though we often knew what was coming, it was as new to us as though we had never heard it before.

"That beautiful apostrophe, used by the prophet Jeremiah, 'O earth, earth, earth, hear the words of the Lord,' was very subservient to him, and never used impertinently.

"He abounded with anecdotes, which, though not always recited verbatim, were very just as to the matter of them. One, for instance, I remember, tending to illustrate the efficacy of prayer, though I have not been able to meet with it in the English history. It was the case of the London apprentices before Henry VIII. pleading his pardon of their insurrection. The monarch, moved by their sight and their plea, 'Mercy! Mercy!' cried, 'Take them away, I cannot bear it.' The application was, that if an earthly monarch, of Henry's description, could be so moved, how forcible is the sinner's plea in the ears of Jesus Christ.

"The difference of the times in which Mr. Whitefield made his public appearance, materially determined the matter of his sermons, and, in some measure, the manner of his address. He

dealt far more in the explanatory and doctrinal mode of preaching on a Sabbath-day morning, than perhaps at any other time. His desultory reading, whether History or Science, he always rendered instrumental to his grand purpose—if he had read upon Astronomy, he would convert the centripetal motion of the heavenly bodies to the disposition of the christian toward Christ, and the fatal attraction of the world would be very properly represented by a reference to the centrifugal. Whatever the world might think of him, he had his charms for the learned as well as for the unlearned; and as he held himself to be a debtor both to the wise and to the unwise, each received his due at such times. The peer and the peasant alike went away satisfied.

" As though he heard the voice of God ever sounding in his ears the important admonition, 'Work while it is called to-day;' this was his work in London, at one period of his life: —After administering the Lord's supper to several hundred communicants, at half an hour after six in the morning; reading the first and second service in the desk, which he did with the greatest propriety, and preaching full an hour, he read prayers and preached in the afternoon, previous to the evening service, at half an hour after five; and afterwards addressed a large society in public. His afternoon sermon used to be more general and exhortatory. In the evening he vindicated the doctrines of grace, fenced them with Articles and Homilies, referred to the martyrs' zeal, and exemplified the power of divine grace in their sufferings, by quotations from the venerable Fox. Sinners were then closely plied, numbers of whom from curiosity coming to hear a sentence or two, were often compelled to hear the whole sermon. How many in the judgment day will rise to prove that they heard to the salvation of the soul.

" Perhaps Mr. Whitefield never preached greater sermons than at six in the morning, for at that hour he did preach winter and summer, on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays. At these times his congregations were of the select description, and young men received admonitions similar with what were given in the society;* and were cautioned, while they neglect the duty required from them under the bond of an

* This society consisting of several hundreds of widows, married people, young men, and spinsters, placed separately in the area of the Tabernacle, used after sermon to receive from Mr. Whitefield, in the colloquial style, various exhortations comprised in short sentences, and suitable to their various stations. The practice of christianity, in all its branches, was then usually inculcated, not without some pertinent anecdote of a character worthy to be held up for an example, and in whose conduct the hints recommended were exemplified.

indenture, not to anticipate the pleasures and advantages of a future life.

"His style was now colloquial, with little use of motion; pertinent expositions, with suitable remarks; and all comprehended within the hour. Christian experience principally made the subject of Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday evening lectures; when, frequently having funeral sermons to preach, the character and experience of the dead helped to elucidate the subject, led to press diligence in the christian course, to reflect upon the blessing of faith upon earth, and glory in Heaven. Mr. Whitefield adopted the custom of the inhabitants of New England in their best days, of beginning the Sabbath at Six o'clock on Saturday evenings. The custom could not be observed by many, but it was convenient to a few —a few compared with the multitudes, but, abstractedly considered, a large and respectable company."

An intimate friend of Mr. Hume, the Historian, asked him what he thought of Mr. Whitefield's preaching; for he had listened to the latter part of one of his sermons at Edinburgh. "He is, Sir," said Mr. Hume, "the most ingenious preacher I ever heard. It is worth while to go twenty miles to hear him." He then repeated the following passage which he heard, towards the close of that discourse: "After a solemn pause, Mr. Whitefield thus addressed his numerous audience:—'The attendant angel is just about to leave the threshold, and ascend to heaven. And shall he ascend and not bear with him the news of one sinner, among all this multitude, reclaimed from the error of his ways?' To give the greater effect to this exclamation, he stamped with his foot, lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven, and with gushing tears, cried aloud, 'Stop, Gabriel! Stop, Gabriel! Stop, ere you enter the sacred portals, and yet carry with you the news of one converted sinner to God.' He then, in the most simple, but energetic language, described what he called a Saviour's dying love to sinful man; so that almost the whole assembly melted into tears. This address was accompanied with such animated, yet natural action, that it surpassed any thing I ever saw or heard in any other preacher."—Happy had it been for poor Hume, had he then received what he then heard "as the word of God, and not as the word of man!"

It appears, from a little account book, wherein Mr. Whitefield minuted the times and places of his ministerial labours, that he preached upwards of *eighteen thousand* sermons, from the æra of his ordination to that of his death.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF THE

OCCASION, PROCESS, AND ISSUE, OF A LATE TRIAL,

At the Assize held at Gloucester, March 3, 1743,

Between some of the People called Methodists, Plaintiffs, and certain Persons of the Town of Minchin-Hampton, in the said County, Defendants.

IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND.

"*And when the town-clerk had appeased the people, he said, Ye men of Ephesus, what man is there that knoweth not how that the city of the Ephesians is a worshipper of the great goddess Diana, and of the image which fell down from Jupiter. Seeing then that these things cannot be spoken against, ye ought to be quiet, and to do nothing rashly. For ye have brought hither these men, which are neither robbers of churches, nor yet blasphemers of your goddess. Wherefore, if Demetrius, and the craftsmen which are with him, have a matter against any man, the law is open, and there are deputies; let them implead one another. But if ye inquire any thing concerning other matters, it shall be determined in a lawful assembly. For we are in danger to be called in question for this day's uproar, there being no cause whereby we may give an account of this concourse.*"—— Acts xix. 35—40.

MY DEAR FRIEND, *London, March*, 12, 1744.

ON Thursday evening I came hither from the Gloucester assizes, where I have been engaged in a trial between some of those who are called Methodists, and some violent rioters. Perhaps this news may a little startle you, and put you upon inquiry (as it hath done some others) "How we came to go to law with our adversaries, when it is our avowed principle to suffer patiently for the truth's sake?" I will tell you, my dear friend; though, perhaps, there is nothing in the world more abused than the law, and there are very few that go to law out of a proper principle; yet we hold, that there is a proper use of it, and the law is good when used lawfully. Whether or no we have used it lawfully in the present case, I shall leave my friend to judge, after I have told him the motives that induced us to engage in it.——The Methodists, you know, are everywhere accounted enthusiasts, in the worst sense of the word; but, though they are accounted such, yet they would not be enthusiasts in reality. Now we look upon it to be one species of enthusiasm, to expect to attain an end, without making use of proper means. We also think, that believers should be very careful not to be fond of suffering persecution, when they may avoid it, by making application to the high powers. We are likewise of opinion, that good Christians will be good subjects, and, consequently, it is their duty, as much as in them lies, to put a stop to every thing, in a rightful way, that may prove destructive to the king or the government under which they live. Christian ministers, in particular, we think, ought to consider

the weakness of people's grace, and, in pity to precious souls, do what they can to remove every thing out of the way, that may discourage or prevent poor people's hearing the everlasting gospel. These considerations, my dear friend, for some time past, have led me to examine whether the Methodists, in general (and I myself in particular) have acted the part of good subjects, and judicious Christian ministers, in so long neglecting to make an application to the superior courts, and putting in execution the wholesome laws of the land, in order to prevent those many dreadful outrages which have been committed against us. I need not descend to particulars. Our Weekly History is full of them; and, before that came out, several of our brethren, both in England and Wales, had received much damage from time to time, and been frequently in great hazard of their lives. Wiltshire has been very remarkable for mobbing and abusing the Methodists; and, for about ten months last past, it has also prevailed very much in Gloucestershire, especially at Hampton, where our friend Mr. Adams has a dwelling-house, and has been much blessed to many people. This displeased the grand enemy of souls, who stirred up many of the baser sort, privately encouraged by some of a higher rank, to come from time to time, in great numbers, with a low-bell and horn, to beset the house, and beat and abuse the people. About the beginning of July last, their opposition seemed to rise to the highest. For several days they assembled in great bodies, broke the windows, and mobbed the people to such a degree, that many expected to be murdered, and hid themselves in holes and corners, to avoid the rage of their adversaries. Once, when I was there, they continued from four in the afternoon till midnight, rioting, giving loud huzzas, casting dirt upon the hearers, and making proclamations, "That no Anabaptists, Presbyterians, &c. should preach there, upon pain of being first put into a skin-pit, and afterwards into a brook." At another time they pulled one or two women down the stairs by the hair of their heads. And, on the 10th of July they came, to the number of near a hundred, in their usual way, with a low-bell and horn, about five in the afternoon, forced into Mr. Adams's house, and demanded him down the stairs whereon he was preaching, took him out of his house, and threw him into a skin-pit full of noisome things and stagnated water. One of our friends, named Williams, asking them, "If they were not ashamed to serve an innocent man so?" they put him into the same pit twice, and afterwards beat him, and dragged him along the kennel. Mr. Adams quietly returned home, and betook himself to prayer, and exhorted the people to rejoice in suffering for the sake of the gospel. In about half an hour, they

came to the house again, dragged him down the stairs, and led him away a mile and a half to a place called Bourn-brook, and then threw him in. A stander-by, fearing he might be drowned, jumped in and pulled him out; whereupon another of the rioters immediately pushed him into the pool a second time, and cut his leg against a stone, so that he went lame for near a fortnight. Both the constable and justices were applied to, but refused to act; and seemed rather to countenance the mobbing, hoping thereby Methodism (as they called it) would be put a stop to, at least at Hampton. For a season they gained their end. There was no preaching for some time, the people fearing to assemble on account of the violence of the mob. Upon my return to town, I advised with my friends what to do. We knew we wanted to exercise no revenge against the rioters, and yet we thought it wrong that the gospel should be stopped by such persons, when the government under which we lived countenanced no such thing; and also, that it was absurd to thank God for wholesome laws, if they were not to be made use of. We knew very well, that an Apostle had told us, that magistrates were ordained for the punishment of evil doers; and that they bear not the sword in vain. We were also fearful, that if any of our brethren should be murdered by future riotings (as in all probability they might), we should be accessary to their death, if we neglected to tie up the rioters' hands, which was all we desired to do. Besides, we could not look upon this as allowed persecution, since it was not countenanced by the laws of the land, and we might have redress from these rioters and inferior magistrates, by appealing to Cæsar; whose real friends and loyal subjects we judged ourselves not to be, if we suffered his laws to be publicly trampled under foot by such notorious rioting; and which, though begun against the Methodists, might terminate in open rebellion against King George. For these and such like reasons, we thought it our duty to move for an information in the King's Bench, against five of the ringleaders, and fixed upon the riot which they made on Sunday, July 10, when they put Messrs. Adams and Williams into the skin-pit and brook. But, before this was done, I wrote a letter to one, whom they called Captain, desiring him to inform his associates, "That, if they would acknowledge their fault, pay for curing a boy's arm, which was broken the night I was there, and mend the windows of Mr. Adams's house, we would readily pass all by; but if they persisted in their resolutions to riot, we thought it our duty to prevent their doing, and others receiving, further damage, by moving for an information against them in the King's Bench." I also sent a copy of this letter to a minister of the town, and to a justice

of the peace, with a letter to each from myself: but all in vain. The rioters sent me a most insolent answer, wrote me word, "They were in high spirits, and were resolved there should be no more preaching in Hampton." Finding them *irreclaimable*, we moved the next term for a rule of court in the King's Bench, to lodge an information against five of the ring-leaders, for the outrage committed, violence offered, and damage done to Messrs. Adams and Williams, on Sunday, July 10. The rioters were apprised of it, appeared by their counsel, and prayed the rule might be enlarged till the next term. It was granted. In the mean while they continued mobbing, broke into Mr. Adams's house, on Saturday night, at eleven o'clock, when there was no preaching, made those that were in bed get up, and search'd the oven, cellar, and every corner of the house, to see whether they could find any Methodists. Some time after, they threw another young man in a mud-pit three times successively, and abused the people in a dreadful manner. The next term came on. We proved our accusations by twenty-six affidavits: and the defendants making no reply, the rule was made absolute, and an information filed against them. To this they pleaded NOT GUILTY; and, according to the method in the crown-office, the cause was referred to the assize held at Gloucester, March 3d.—— Thither I went, and, on Tuesday morning last the trial came on. It was given out by some, "That the Methodists were to lose the cause, whether right or wrong." And I believe the defendants depended much on a supposition, that the gentlemen and jury would be prejudiced against us. We were easy, knowing that our Saviour had the hearts of all in his hands. Being aware of the great consequences of gaining or losing this trial, both in respect to us and the nation, we kept a day of fasting and prayer through all the societies, both in England and Wales. Our Scotch friends also joined with us, and cheerfully committed our cause into his hands, by whom kings reign and princes decree justice. We had about thirty witnesses to prove the riot and facts laid down in the information. Our counsel opened the cause (as I heard, being not present when the trial begun) with much solidity and sound reasoning: they shewed, "That rioters were not to be reformers; and that his Majesty had no where put the reins of government into the hands of mobbers, or made them judge or jury." One of them in particular, with great gravity reminded the gentlemen on the jury of the advice of Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, recorded Acts v. 38, 39. "Refrain from these men, and let them alone; for, if this council, or this work, be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to

time as this; that rioting was the forerunner of, and might end in, rebellion; that it was felony, without benefit of clergy, to pull down a meeting-house; and, for all as he knew, it was high-treason to pull down even a bawdy-house. That this information came from the King's Bench; that his Majesty's justices there thought they had sufficient reason to grant it; that the matters contained in it had been evidently proved before them, and, consequently, they should bring all the defendants in guilty."

Upon this the jury were desired to consider of their verdict. There seemed to be some little demur amongst them. His lordship perceiving it, informed them, "They had nothing to do with the damages, (that was to be referred to the King's Bench) they were only to consider whether the defendants were guilty or not." Whereupon, in a few minutes, they gave a verdict for the prosecutors, and brought in all the defendants "guilty of the whole information lodged against them." I then retired to my lodgings, kneeled down, and gave thanks, with some friends, to our all-conquering Emmanuel. Afterwards I went to the inn, prayed, and returned thanks with the witnesses, exhorted them to behave with meekness and humility to their adversaries, and, after they had taken proper refreshment, sent them home rejoicing. In the evening I preached on those words of the Psalmist, "By this I know, that thou favourest me, since thou hast not suffered mine enemy to triumph over me." God was pleased to enlarge my heart much. I was very happy with my friends afterwards, and the next morning set out for London, where we have had a blessed thanksgiving season, and from whence I take the first opportunity of sending you as many particulars of the occasion, progress, and issue of our trial, as I can well recollect. What report his Lordship will be pleased to make of the case, and how the defendants will be dealt with, cannot be known till next term; when I shall apprize you of it, as also of our behaviour towards them. In the mean while let me entreat you to give thanks to the blessed Jesus in our behalf, and to pray that his word may have free course, may run and be glorified, and a stop be put to all such rebellious proceedings. I remain, Sir,

Your very affectionate Friend, and humble Servant,

George Whitefield.

*** For more particulars of this affair, see Vol. II. of his Works, Letters 526, 527, 529, 545, 549, and 550.

REMARKS ON A PAMPHLET,

ENTITULED,

"THE ENTHUSIASM OF METHODISTS AND PAPISTS COMPARED;"

WHEREIN

Several Mistakes in some Parts of my past Writings and Conduct are acknowledged, and my present Sentiments concerning the METHODISTS explained.

IN A LETTER TO THE AUTHOR.

Out of the eater came forth meat.—Judges xiv. 14.

SIR,

I HAVE perused your *anonymous Pamphlet*; and though, upon some accounts, it does not deserve an answer, yet, as it may serve a good purpose, and be a means of rectifying some mistakes, I shall trouble you with a few remarks upon it.

Who, or what you are, the world is left to guess. If a *clergyman*, you have done well to conceal yourself, the whole strain of your performance discovering a levity unbecoming such a character. You yourself seem conscious of its needing an apology: for, in your preface, after having just hinted at the "*extravagant freaks of Methodism*," you add, "And if in proving it, I am sometimes guilty of a levity of expression, 'tis to be hoped some allowance will be made, in consideration of the nature of the subject, it being no easy matter to keep one's countenance, and be steadily serious, where others are ridiculous." Assure yourself, Sir, I shall make all the allowance you can reasonably desire; but, at the same time, must observe to you, that if others are ridiculous, that is no reason why you should make yourself so; and if recovering the persons concerned out of their extravagant freaks be only a remote design of your composition, you have unhappily fixed upon a most improbable, ineffectual remedy; I mean *irreligious banter*.

However this be, your principal design is obvious, "As a caution to all Protestants, to draw a comparison between the wild and pernicious ENTHUSIASMS of some of the most *eminent Saints* in the *Popish Communion*, and those of the *Methodists* in our own country:" and who those eminent saints

are, you specify, page 9, sect. 2. "the most wild and extravagant, the most ridiculous, strolling, fanatical, delirious, and mischievous of all the saints in the *Romish* communion." For otherwise, you say, "the parallel would not hold, but come off defective; the whole conduct of the Methodists (not any one branch, it seems, to be excepted) being but a counter-part of the most wild fanaticism of the most abominable communion, in its most corrupt ages."—*Vid. Pref.* This is avowedly your principal design (which though I think somewhat too restrained to answer exactly to your title page) must be acknowledged to be a very expedient one; if, besides cautioning Protestants, you intended, at the same time, to expose the Methodists, and to have them looked upon and treated as Papists.

How you have succeeded in this attempt, will appear when we come to examine the parallel you have drawn between them. To this I shall confine myself, and consequently, on purpose, omit making any direct reply to the account you give of the *Montanists*; it being not only quite foreign to the title page and principal design of your tract (as you say, "they arose in the second century, before Popery had a being") but, at the best, very precarious, being not founded upon writings of their own, which, as you inform us, are long since lost.

To come then to your more direct comparison between *popish* and *methodistical enthusiasts*:—"From a commiseration or horror, arising from the grievous corruptions of the world, perhaps from a real motive of sincere piety, they both set out with warm pretences to reformation:" page 10, sect. 2. And is not this commendable, whether in Methodists or in Papists? Or ought any one, think you, to take upon him holy orders, and witness that good confession before many witnesses, "That he is inwardly moved thereto by the Holy Ghost," without having a real motive of sincere piety, and a warm intention, at least (if that be what you mean by a pretence) to promote, as much as in him lies, a real reformation? If, by pretence, you would have us understand a mere hypocritical pretence, you are then guilty of a self-contradiction: for how can pretence and reality be reconciled? Which of the two was the case of the Methodists at their first setting out, if you please, we will leave to the great day, to be determined by Him who is appointed to be judge of quick and dead; to whom alone all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid. Actions are cognizable by us, and not intentions. Let us see how your parallel holds good in respect to these.

"For the better advancement of their purposes, both commonly (you say, page 11. sec. 4.) begin their *adventures* with *field-preaching*. In which particular, though the practice of the Methodists be notorious, it may not be amiss to produce some of their own words, were it only for the sake of the com-

parison." But, good Sir, ought any one, merely for the sake of making a comparison (though ever so just) to exceed the bounds of truth, which you have here confessedly done? For what words have you produced, or, indeed, can you produce, to prove that the Methodists began their adventures with field-preaching? If we may believe your own words, is not the quite contrary notorious? For, sect. 5, page 15, you tell us, "That after the Methodists had traduced the clergy, as long as they were permitted to do it, in their own churches and pulpits, they set about this pious work of defamation more heartily in the fields."

Here then your parallel fails at first setting out; you yourself being judge. And here I would dismiss this article, being founded on a mistake, was it not proper to take notice of a cursory remark or two, which you have thought proper to make upon it. You ask, page 14, "How comes Mr. Whitefield to say, there was never any such thing as field-preaching before? Was it from the mere vanity of being thought the founder of it? Or was he ignorant of the practice several years ago, and even in our own nation?" I thank you, Sir, for informing me better, and am glad to find that field-preaching was practised in our nation several years ago. Why then such a noise about it now?

From what degrees of vanity my expressing myself in that manner might proceed, I cannot now remember: but if, as you insinuate, page 38, "It is easy to foresee there is to be some future *calendar*, or *legend of the saints*," (I presume you mean *Methodist saints*) I care not if the following article be inserted concerning me:—"Such a day the Reverend George Whitefield having had an university education, and been regularly ordained deacon and priest of the church of England, and invited to preach in most churches of the cities of Gloucester, Bristol, Westminster, and London; in the last of which places he collected near a thousand pounds for the charity children, being causelessly denied the further use of the churches, because he preached up the necessity of the new birth, and justification in the sight of God by faith alone, in the imputed righteousness of JESUS CHRIST, *began to preach the same doctrines in the fields.*"

This is the real truth: and whether I was the *founder* or *reviver* of such field-preaching in this nation, need I be ashamed, merely because St. Peter of Verona, St. Nicholas of Nolasco, St. Anthony of Padua, and St. Ignatius were field-preachers before me? Can you recollect no earlier, or more unexceptionable field-preachers than these? What do you think of Jesus Christ and his Apostles? Were they not field-preachers? Was not the best sermon that was ever delivered, delivered from a Mount? Was not another very excellent one preached from a place called Mars-hill? And did not Peter and John preach

above seventeen hundred years ago in Solomon's Porch, and elsewhere, though the clergy of that generation commanded them to speak no more in the name of Jesus? These were the persons that I had in view, when I begun my *adventures* of field-preaching. Animated by their example, when causelessly thrust out, I took the field; and if this be my shame, I glory in it: for, (to make use of the words of the late great Colonel Gardiner, when he once looked upon the spot where this adventure was carried on; and O that I may speak it with a becoming humility, "I am persuaded it will be said at the great day of this and that man, that they were brought to God there."

Another of your cursory remarks on field-preaching, is this; "Have not the Methodist preachers, as well as St. Anthony, been attended with a *sturdy set* of followers, as their guards, armed with clubs under their cloaths, menacing and terrifying such as should dare to speak lightly of their apostle?" You add, "I have heard it often affirmed." And so might the heathens have said that they heard it often affirmed, "that when the primitive Christians received the blessed sacrament, they killed a young child, and then sucked its blood." But was that any reason why they should believe it? It is true indeed, some of the Methodist preachers have more than once been attended with a *sturdy set* of followers, armed with clubs and other weapons, not as their guards, but opposers and persecutors; and who have not only menaced and terrified, but actually abused and beaten many of those who came to hear him, whom you, I suppose, would call their apostle. Both Methodist preachers and Methodist hearers too, for want of better arguments, have often felt the weight of such *irresistible power*, which, literally speaking, hath struck many of them dumb; and I verily believe, had it not been for some superior invisible guard, must have struck them dead. These are all the sturdy set of armed followers that the Methodists know of. Other guards, besides those common to all Christians, they desire none. And whatever you may unkindly insinuate, about my being aware of a turbulent spirit, a fighting enthusiasm amongst them, because I said, "I dread nothing more than the false zeal of my friends in a suffering hour;" I think many years experience may convince the world, that the weapons of their warfare, like those of their blessed Redeemer and his apostles, have not been carnal: but thanks be to God, however you may ridicule his irresistible power, they have, through him, been mighty to the pulling down of Satan's strong-holds, in many a sturdy sinner's heart.

But to return to the church, where, in reality, the Methodist adventures were begun. Section 5th, page 15, you tell the world, "that after they had traduced the clergy, as long as they were permitted to do it, in their own churches and pulpits, in

order to seduce their flocks, and collect a staring rabble, (pretty language this, Sir) they set about this pious work of *defamation* more heartily in the fields." I was reading further, expecting to find your parallel; but I see it is wanting. Are the Methodists then originals in this particular? Or could you, among all the histories of your eminent saints, find no instances of St. Anthony's, St. Francis's, and St. Ignatius's carrying on this pious work of defamation in their days? Will you suffer me to supply the deficiency, by laying before you some examples, which, though of an earlier date, may, by unprejudiced persons, be esteemed as suitable, as any of a popish extraction? In the New Testament (a book you seem to have laid aside, or, at least, little adverted to, when writing your pamphlet), we are informed that when John Baptist "saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? The same book tells us, that St. Stephen being full of the Holy Ghost, and within a few moments of his death, said to the whole Jewish Sanhedrim, "Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in hearts and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do ye." And our Lord Jesus Christ himself, the master of both these, in one chapter denounces no less than thirteen woes against the scribes and pharisees, whose chief power of doing good, and promoting the common salvation, he well knew, depended upon their character, as much as any clergy in any age of the church whatsoever. Not that I would be understood by this to insinuate, that all which the Methodist preachers have spoken against the clergy, was spoken in the same Spirit, or with the like divine authority, as our Lord, his harbinger, and his protomartyr, spoke. That would be carrying the parallel too far indeed. There is generally much, too much severity in our first zeal; at least there was in mine. All I would therefore infer is this, that what some (not to say you, Sir) may term "Gall, and bitterness, and black art of calumny," may be nothing but an honest testimony against the corruptions of a degenerate church, and may, without any degree of wickedness, be supposed to come from the "Spirit and power given from God." If we deny this, not only Isaiah, Jeremiah, and almost all the prophets, but likewise Jesus Christ and his Apostles, must be looked upon by us (as I suppose they were by the men in whose day they lived) as great *slanderers*, and dealing much in this black art of calumny and defamation.

But, if the Methodists have been so much to blame, for carrying on this pious work of defamation, in the church and their journals; will that authorize you in practising the same *black art* in your pamphlet? Give me leave (since you have taken that liberty with me) to gather some of your flowers on this occasion.

"This dangerous and presumptuous sect, strolling predicants, itinerant enthusiasts, methodistical enthusiasts;" with many other flowers of a like nature, though not of a very scriptural scent, may be picked off almost every page of your performance. Upon the review of which, I suppose you will own, that you are at least even with the Methodists. Only it must be allowed there is this difference; you are taking up a trade, which they, as far as I know to the contrary, have for some time laid down.

And why must you disturb the dead on this occasion? Were there not flowers enough to be gathered out of Mr. Wesley's Journal and mine, without calling up Mr. Seward's ghost (as you have, in effect, done, by quoting his Journal) in order to terrify your readers? Good man! he has long since entered into his rest; and, consequently, cannot now answer for himself. Permit me to speak a word or two in behalf of my deceased friend. He was certainly a serious warm Christian, but (like his fellow-traveller) in the heat of his zeal, spoke and wrote some unguarded things. His and my treatment of Archbishop Tillotson, was by far too severe. We condemned his state, when we ought only in a candid manner (which I would do again if called to it) to have mentioned what we judged wrong in his doctrines. I do not justify it. I condemn myself most heartily, and ask pardon for it; as, I believe, he would do, was he now alive. But then, do not you still go on, Sir, to imitate us in our faults: Let the surviving Methodists answer for themselves: let Seward and Tillotson lie undisturbed. And, if you think me blameworthy (as I certainly was) to write so disrespectful of the one; why should you, by making an ill-natured quotation, rake as it were into the very ashes of the dead, only for the poor gratification of digging up a flower to blacken the memory of the other?

But to proceed. For several pages, you go on imitating us in this same *pious work of defamation*. If you can bear to read your own words, I will transcribe a few of them: sect. 6, p. 17, "But though these strolling predicants have allured some itching ears, and drawn them aside by calumniating their proper pastors, they have sense enough to know the itch will go off, and their trade not continue long, unless they can produce something novel or uncommon; what the wandering sheep have not been used to in their churches. Therefore, they must find out, or rather revive such peculiarities, as have formerly attended enthusiasms, and are most likely to captivate the vulgar. Hence their"—But hold, Sir;—and, before you run yourself quite out of breath, I entreat you to stop a little, whilst I put to you one or two questions. Believe you these things of the Methodists? I suppose you believe them: otherwise, Why assert them so strongly? How then can you put even a *perhaps* to your suppo-

sition of their, "setting out with a *real motive* of sincere piety? Had not you best alter the title of your book, or, at least, make some addition to it? Let it run thus: "The enthusiasm and *imposture* of the Methodists and Papists compared." For surely, unless persons were arrived at a very high degree of imposture, they could not purposely (as you seem to infer they did) design these things.

By your leave, we will examine the evidence you produce in proof of these bold assertions: "The first necessary point for drawing followers is, to put on a *sanctified appearance*, by a demure look, and precise behaviour, in discourse or silence, in apparel and food; and other marks of external piety." Sect. 7, page 18. Again, sect. 8, page 20. "At first, the Methodists, as a *show of humility*, made it a point not to ride, either on horseback or in a coach, though occasionally, and for conveniency-sake, they have since thought proper to deviate from their rule." Well, Sir, you see, then, they are not altogether incorrigible. Let them alone; and who knows but, for their conveniency-sake, and it may be from a deeper knowledge of the world, of themselves, and of God, they may be reformed in some other particulars?

"Upon the same account," you say, sect. 9, p. *ibid.* "*fine clothes* and *rich furniture* stand absolutely condemned:" (not by me, it seems, for I find no quotations out of my Journals annexed) "But oh! (as a part or consequence of this) how good and saint-like is it to go dirty, ragged, and slovenly! And how piously did Mr. Whitefield, therefore, take care of the outward man! My apparel was mean, &c." Sect. 10, page 21. Really, Sir, whilst I read this part of your performance, I could not help thinking, that a person of your turn of mind, would have been apt to have joined with those naughty boys, who, when they saw that demure, rough, hairy, slovenly, enthusiast, called Elijah, followed after him, and cried, "Go up, thou bald pate, go." Or, if you had lived in John Baptist's time, and seen him come preaching in the wilderness, with a camel-hair garment, and a leathern girdle about his loins; especially if you had heard, that his meat was only locusts and wild honey; would you not have been tempted, think you, to give in your verdict amongst those who said "He had a devil?" Know you not, that these are extremes which young awakened persons are apt to run into when under a sense of sin, and influenced by what the Apostle calls the *spirit of bondage?* Do I not mention them as such? And are they not things which of themselves fall off, when persons are brought into the comforts of religion, and have received the *spirit of adoption*, whereby they cry, Abba, Father? But I shall leave you at present, to make as merry as you will with the sanctified appearances, and dirty

ragged cloaths of these enthusiastical Methodists. Let us pass on to your 11th section, page 22, "Of this nature, likewise, is their utter condemnation of all *recreation*, in every kind and degree. Mr. Whitefield laments," (indeed I do, Sir, even now I am grown older) "that in his younger days he was not convinced of the absolute unlawfulness of playing at cards, and of reading and seeing plays." And, if you are in advanced years, and a *clergyman* too, and are not convinced of the unlawfulness of cards, and can find time, from your other studies and duties of your calling, to see or read such plays as the generality of ours are, I think you ought to lament it too—for what says our church in her 75th canon?—"No ecclesiastical persons shall, at any time, other than for their honest necessities, resort to any *taverns* or *alehouses*; neither shall they board or lodge in any such places. Furthermore, they shall not give themselves to any base or servile labour, or to *drinking* or *riot*, spending their time idly by day or night, playing at *dice*, *cards*, or *tables*, or any *other unlawful game*; but, at all times convenient, they shall hear or read somewhat of the Holy Scriptures, or shall occupy themselves with some other honest study or exercise, always doing the things which shall appertain to honesty, and endeavouring to profit the church of God; having always in mind, that they ought to excel all others in purity of life, and should be examples to the people to live well and Christianly, under pain of ecclesiastical censures, to be inflicted with severity, according to the qualities of their offences." O when shall this once be!

In your 12th sect. page 24, you go on to rally these enthusiastical Methodists for their *seeming contempt of money*. And again, sect. 13, page 26, you say, "Another bait to catch admirers, and very common among enthusiasts, is a restless impatience and insatiable thirst of *travelling*, and undertaking *dangerous voyages* for the conversion of *infidels*: together with a declared contempt of all dangers, pains, and sufferings." And then, after drawing your usual comparison between these enthusiastical Methodists and Popish saints, you make this judicious remark, "The windmill is, indeed, in all their heads."

Had I a mind to return your false and low wit, I might reply, 'There is a greater windmill in thine own; but at present, I am too serious to make sport with my own deceivings. Surely, Sir, you forget yourself, or you never would write thus at random: for is there any thing that the blessed Author of our religion more recommends to his disciples, than to "take heed and beware of covetousness," and to "take heed, lest at any time their hearts should be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness, or the cares of this life?" What said St. Peter? "Silver and gold I have none." What says St. Paul? "But thou, O

man of God, flee these things." And in respect to contempt, and sufferings for the gospel, does not our Lord command us to expect, to prepare for, and rejoice in them? Nay, does he not bid us to leap for joy, and be exceeding glad, when we have all manner of evil spoken against us falsely for his name's sake? In obedience to this command, did not the great Apostle of the Gentiles declare, that he took pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christ's sake? Did he not, like his Lord, go about doing good? Was he not filled with a holy restless impatience and insatiable thirst of *travelling* and undertaking *dangerous voyages* for the conversion of infidels? And had he not a declared contempt of all dangers, pains, and sufferings, when, like a true Christian hero, he said to his mourning friends, What mean ye to weep and break my heart? I am ready not only to be bound, but to die also for the Lord Jesus? Dare you, Sir, call the Apostles enthusiasts? Or think you all this was only a *bait* to catch admirers? And yet, what have you done less, by asserting, that an insatiable thirst of travelling, &c. is very common among enthusiasts? I add, among our Lord and his Apostles also: and can we copy after more unexceptionable examples?

"But the Methodists contempt of money is only a *seeming contempt*." That is more than you know. Here you are again invading the divine prerogative. The great day will determine this. In the mean while, I would observe to you, that whatever can be produced out of any of my writings, to prove that I have desired, or prayed for ill usage, persecution, martyrdom, death, &c. I retract it with all my heart, as proceeding from the overflowings of an irregular, though well-meant zeal. However it might be with me formerly, I now find myself no ways disposed to say with Peter, "Though all men deny thee, yet will not I." Alas! alas! we know not what feathers we shall be, when tossed in the wind of temptation! Sufferings for the cause and cross of Christ, will come fast enough of themselves, without our praying for them. But should the Methodists be called even to die for the cause in which they are embarked, as I am verily persuaded it is the cause of God, so I doubt not but suffering grace will be given for suffering times, and the Spirit of Christ and of glory will rest upon the sufferers souls.

But it is time to follow you to your 14th sect. page 31. "The pious cruelty of *corporal severities*, or mortification by tormenting the flesh, is another common method of gaining a reputation for sanctity. Such as long and rigorous fastings, gashing and flaying the body with scourges, armed with rowels and sharp tags, and rolling naked in thorns and thistles." But these last particulars, you say, "our own *disciplinarians* cannot, in any tolerable measure, pretend to come up to." What occa-

sion was there then for mentioning them? Only to cast a popular odium upon these enthusiastical Methodists. *Hoc est aerugo mera.* "However, something of this kind we have from their own relation." And something of this kind we have in the Evangelist's relation of the life of Jesus of Nazareth; who, as we are informed, before he came out into his public ministry, underwent a long and rigorous fasting, even of forty days and forty nights. And something of this kind we have in the relation that disciplinarian the Apostle Paul gives of himself; for he tells us he was in fastings often. It is true he does condemn (as you observe, p. 33.) that ἀφειδία σώματος the not sparing of the body, as useless and superstitious, when done in order to recommend us to the favour of God, or put in the place, or joined with the merits of Jesus Christ. Yet elsewhere, he informs us, that he made it his common practice to keep his body under (ὑπωπιάζω) and bring it into subjection: and think you all this was only to "gain a reputation for sanctity?" If you will believe himself, it was for a nobler and more important end, "Lest while he preached to others, he himself should be a cast-away." And how do you know but these Methodists might, at their first setting out, have used, and even now may use abstinence for the same purpose? Nay, that this very motive led them into some extremes in it, which, however, must be esteemed an error on the right side? Why will you still persist in taking the keys out of the hands of Omniscience, and presumptuously judge the intentions of people's hearts? If we had a mind to imitate you in this rash way of judging, might not we suspect (as your pamphlet came out in that season) that in order to wound our church governors through the sides of the Methodists, you intended this part of your pamphlet as a burlesque upon them, for enjoining such a *long and rigorous fasting*, as that of forty days, commonly called Lent?

I should now proceed, in order, to the examination of your 15th, 16th, and 17th sections; but as these, together with the 19th, wholly refer to Mr. Wesley, I shall leave you to his correction, if he thinks proper to take you in hand. However, there is something so extraordinary in your 17th section, that, I think it calls for a cursory remark. "But, previous to this elevated state, that we may not wander too far from the saints progress, comes their *conversion;* which, as another instance of fanatical peculiarities, they represent as sudden and *instantaneous.*" Instantaneous conversion, a fanatical peculiarity! I presume instantaneous regeneration must be a *fanatical peculiarity* also. What then becomes of that Diana of the present age, *baptismal regeneration?* Which must be instantaneous, and that always too, if every child is really regenerated when baptized.

But this only by the bye. In your 18th section, page 43, you return to me:—After these *sudden conversions*, usually they receive their *assurances of salvation*; and these (as also the proofs of their conversion) are certainly known, heard, seen, or felt; they can ascertain the particular time and place of their receiving them; as so many seals of the Spirit." These you call, page 44, "*presumptuous imaginations*." Is assurance of faith, then, in your opinion, a presumptuous imagination? For you not only ridicule the Methodists way of expressing it, which, in several respects, may have been unguarded; nor are you content with asserting that some who really had not this assurance, have presumptuously imagined they had it, which we readily grant; for there is counterfeit as well as current coin: but you seem to explode the thing itself. And yet you intend, in this pamphlet, to draw a *parallel* between the Methodists and Papists. Could you give a greater proof of your symbolizing with the Papists yourself? Or need you be informed, that one grand article of the council of Trent is this, "That there is no such thing as a person's knowing that his sins are forgiven him, or being assured of his salvation;" and that with good reason: for if there be such a thing as being assured of the forgiveness of our sins by the internal testimony, whether mediate or immediate, of the Spirit of God; and if a person ought to be satisfied only with that, then how could the people be brought to believe in, and trust to the mere external *verbal absolution of a priest?* Our church, on the contrary, in one of her homilies, says, that a true faith "is a sure trust and confidence in God, that by the merits of Christ, his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favour of God." And that the Scriptures every where promise to believers a sure and internal witness from the Spirit of God, to witness with their spirits that they are his children, is so evident, that he who runs may read. What says our Lord? "He that believeth in me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water." This spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive." What says St. Paul? "Because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father. The Spirit itself beareth witness with our Spirit, that we are the children of God." Saith another, "He that believeth hath the witness in himself." And a third exhorts all "to give diligence to make their calling and election sure." Art thou a master in Israel, a Protestant minister, and a minister of the church of England, and knowest not these things?

But to come nearer to a close. Your 20th section is introduced thus: "And where will these bold enthusiasts *stop?*" I answer for one, in order to relieve both myself and you, even *here*, Sir. And without giving you the trouble of taking flight

after us to heaven, from whence, you say, page 48. "These methodistical enthusiasts have taken the sacred light and fire, in order to compass effectually their own, and others delusion." I will freely and readily acknowledge, that you and others have had too much occasion for reflection, by several things that have been *unwarily dropped* up and down in my Journals.

These, you inform us in your preface, are what you have chiefly consulted. In this you have acted wisely enough for your purpose; though whether *candidly* or not, I will leave you and the world to judge, since there were later writings of mine, which might as easily have been procured. My Journals were some of my most *early performances*, wrote too, in the very heights of my first popularity (which is apt to make the strongest head run giddy) in the midst of which, persons very often do things, which after-experience and riper judgment teach them to correct and amend.

This is true, however, in respect to myself; and, to convince you that this is the real language of my heart, and not extorted from me by your pamphlet, I will lay before you an extract of a letter, written by me to a worthy friend in South Carolina, in my late return from Bermudas, and published, with very little alteration, in Scotland, months ago.*

"*On board the Brig Betsey, June* 24,
"REV. SIR, 1748.

——"Yesterday I made an end of revising all my Journals. Blessed be God for letting me have leisure to do it. I purpose to have a new edition before I see America. Alas! alas! in how many things have I judged, and acted wrong! I have been too rash and hasty in giving characters both of places and persons. Being fond of scripture language, I have often used a style too apostolical, and at the same time I have been too bitter in my zeal; wild-fire has been mixed with it; and I find that I have frequently written and spoken too much in my own spirit, when I thought I was writing and speaking entirely by the assistance of the Spirit of God. I have likewise too much made impressions, without the written word, my rule of acting; and too soon, and too explicitly, published what had better been kept in longer, or left to have been told after my death. By these things, I have given some wrong touches to God's ark, hurt the blessed cause I would defend, and stirred up needless opposition. This has humbled me much since I have been on board, and made me think of a saying of Mr. Henry's, "Joseph had more *honesty* than he had *policy*, or he never would have told his dreams." At the same time, I cannot but bless,

* Vide the Letter at full length, Vol. ii. p. 143 of his Works.

and praise, and magnify, that good and gracious God, who imparted to me so much of his holy fire, and carried me, a poor weak youth, through such a torrent both of popularity and contempt, and set so many seals to my unworthy ministrations. I bless him for ripening my judgment a little more, for giving me to see, confess, and, I hope, in some degree, to correct and amend some of its mistakes. I thank God for giving me grace to embark in such a blessed cause, and pray him to give me strength to hold on, and increase in zeal and love to the end. Thus, dear Sir, I have unburdened my heart to you. I look upon you to be my *Fidus Achates*, and therefore deal thus freely. If I have time and freedom before we land, I think to begin and write a short account of what has happened for these seven years last past; and when I get on shore, God willing, I purpose to revise and correct the first part of my life."

This I am now about, and when finished, shall send it into the world, I hope, in a more unexceptionable dress; though I am fully satisfied before-hand, that write or speak of the things of God as unexceptionably as may be, they will be always esteemed foolishness by the natural man, because they can only be spiritually discerned. However, the way of duty is the way of safety. Let me but be found in that, and I can then cheerfully leave the consequences with God. In the mean while, I thank you, Sir, for pointing out to me a very wrong expression in the last part of my life; my words are these:—"I could no longer walk on foot as usual; but was constrained to go in a coach, to avoid the *Hosanna's* of the multitude." Your remark runs thus, sect. 8, page 20—"*Very prophane*, unless it be a false print for *huzza's*." I could wish it had been so; but the word was my own; and though not intended to convey a *prophane idea*, was very wrong and unguarded, and I desire may be buried in oblivion, unless you, or some other kind person, are pleased to remind me of it, in order to lay me low before God and man.

A review of all this, together with my having dropped some too strong expressions concerning *absolute reprobation*; and more especially my mentioning Mr. Wesley's casting a lot on a private occasion, known only to God and ourselves, have put me to great pain. Speaking of this last, you say, page 75—"a more *judicious sentiment*, perhaps, never dropt from Mr. Whitefield's pen." I believe, Sir, the advice given was right and good; but then it was wrong in me to publish a private transaction to the world; and very ill judged, to think the glory of God could be promoted by unnecessarily exposing my friend. For this I have asked both God and him pardon years ago. And though I believe both have forgiven me, yet I believe I

shall never be able to forgive myself. As it was a public fault, I think it should be publicly acknowledged; and I thank a kind Providence for giving me this opportunity of doing it.

As for the *letters*, out of which you, and the author of the "Observations on the Conduct and Behaviour of the *Methodists*," have taken so many extracts, I acknowledge that many things in them were very exceptionable, though good in the main; and therefore they have been suppressed some time. *Casting lots* I do not now approve of, nor have I, for several years; neither do I think it a safe way (though practised, I doubt not, by many good men) to make a *lottery of the Scriptures*, by dipping into them upon every occasion.

And now, Sir, I am somewhat prepared to hear what follows in your 48th page. "Nothing less than *inspirations, revelations, illuminations*, and all the extraordinary and immediate actions of all the persons in the *sacred Trinity*, will serve their turn. So that now every flash of zeal and devotion; every wild pretension, scheme, tenet, and over-bearing dictate; impulses, impressions, feelings, impetuous transports and raptures; intoxicating vapours, and fumes of imagination; phantoms of a crazy brain, &c. all are ascribed, with an amasing presumption, to the extraordinary interposition of heaven setting its seal to their mission."

Judge you now, Sir, whether I am one of those, of whom you are pleased to speak thus, page 49:—"In short, whatever they think, say, or do, is from God; and whatever opposeth, and stands in their way, is from the devil." No, Sir, my mistakes have been too many, and my blunders too frequent, to make me set up for infallibility. I came soon into the world; I have carried high sail, whilst running through a whole torrent of popularity and contempt; and, by this means, have sometimes been in danger of oversetting. But many and frequent as my mistakes have been, or may be, as I have no part to act, if I know any thing of my heart, but to promote God's glory, and the good of souls, as soon as I am made sensible of them, they shall be publicly acknowledged and retracted.

At the same time, I should lie against reason, scripture, and above fourteen years experience, if I denied that God has been pleased, from time to time, to vouchsafe me *comfortable assistance* and *supports*; or that a great and glorious work (if the *conversion of souls* may be termed so) has been begun, and is now carrying on in these, and several other parts of the world, by the instrumentality of those whom you style enthusiastical Methodists.

Indeed, the ingenious author of the "Considerations upon the conversion and apostleship of St. Paul," speaking of the enthusiasm that appears not only in the lives of some

enthusiastical heretics, but even some of the Methodists now, ventures to say, that "all the divine communications, illuminations, and extacies to which they have pretended, evidently sprung from much self-conceit, working together with the vapours of melancholy upon a warm imagination." That the mentioning these divine communications so freely to the world might be mixed with some degrees of unobserved vanity, or want of caution, may be probable. But roundly to assert, that all their communications were *only pretended*, and sprung from no other sources but self-conceit, vapours of melancholy, and a warm imagination, is, I think, unbecoming so *young a convert* as that author; is a blemish to his performance, and a mistake which, I trust, he himself will be happily convinced of, when he comes to experience more of the power of that Redeemer's resurrection, which the Apostle, of whose conversion he in the main so excellently treats, longed so much to know.

Without running such lengths in judging others, or needlessly fearing to be accounted enthusiasts or methodists ourselves; when writing in defence of Christianity, I think we may rationally allow, that there may be much light and assistance given from God, though, at the same time, something of our own imaginations may possibly be blended with it.

This I take to be true with respect to the Methodists. That imagination has mixed itself with the work, cannot be denied; and is no more than what must necessarily be expected; for, who ever saw fire without some smoke? but that the work itself is of God; and, as good Bishop Latimer said, when the Papists laid a lighted faggot at Dr. Ridley's feet, so we may venture to affirm, "a candle is lighted in England (through the instrumentality of the Methodists) which will not easily be put out."

The doctrines which they chiefly insist upon, are the great doctrines of the reformation:—"That man is very far gone from original righteousness. That he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God. That we are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. That albeit good works, which are fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment; yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do, necessarily, spring out of a true and lively faith; insomuch that by them a lively faith may be evidently known, as a tree is discerned by its fruits." These are doctrines as diametrically opposite to the church of Rome, as light to darkness. They are the very doctrines, for which Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer, and so many of our first reformers were burned at the stake. And I will venture to say, are doctrines which, when

attended with a divine energy, and preached with power, "without taking to their assistance the several arts of management and craft," always have, and always will, maugre all opposition, make their way through the world, however weak the instruments that deliver them may be, and whatever offences and divisions about some *non-essentials* may arise among themselves.

These are things which always did, and always will happen in the purest ages of the church. Paul and Barnabas were permitted not only to fall out, but to separate from each other, merely on account of a dispute that arose about taking with them one John, whose surname was Mark. And yet this was over-ruled for the furtherance of the gospel. There was an incestuous person in the church of Corinth, when under even a truly apostolical inspection. And to what heights the contentions arose between Luther, Calvin, and Zwinglius, at the first dawnings of the reformation, about predestination and the sacrament; and that of Bishop Cranmer, Ridley, and Hooper, many years after, about the vestments, is too notorious to be mentioned. It must needs be, that such offences come, whilst good men carry about with them the remainders of in-dwelling sin, prejudices of education, blindness in their understandings, and have an artful enemy always near at hand, and always ready to blow up the coals of contention, in order to raise a smoke, whereby he may blacken or blemish the work of God. The blessed Jesus wisely permits such things, to cure us of spiritual pride; to remind us of the necessity of looking to himself; to teach us to cease from man, by convincing us, that the best of men are but men at the best; to enure us to long-suffering and forbearance one towards another; to excite in us a more eager desire after heaven, where these disorders will be at an end; and for a more glorious display of his infinite wisdom and power at the day of judgment; when he will convince the wondering world, that, in spite of all the subtlety, malice, and rage of his enemies, together with the weaknesses, blindnesses, and jarrings of his friends, he has fully accomplished that glorious work, for which he came to shed his blood; I mean the renewal of a multitude of souls, which no man can number, out of every nation, language and tongue, by making them partakers of his righteousness, and, through the powerful operations of his blessed Spirit, bringing them back to, and re-instamping upon them that divine image, in which they were originally created.

To awaken a drowsy world to a sense of this, to rouse them out of their formality, as well as profaneness, and put them upon seeking after a present and great salvation, to point out to them a glorious rest, which not only remains for the people of God hereafter, but which, by a living faith, the very chief of sinners may enter into even here, and without which the most blazing

profession is nothing worth, is, as far as I know, the *one thing*, the grand and common point, in which all the Methodists' endeavours center.

This is what some of all denominations want to be reminded of, and to stir them up to seek after the life and power of godliness, that they may be Christians not only in word and profession, but in spirit and in truth, is and, through Jesus Christ, strengthening me, shall be the one sole business of my life. "As for all those (as one expresses it) who are for clipping the wings of the mystic dove, and for confining the power and Spirit of God within the bounds of *human establishments*, I am well aware of what opposition I must continue to meet with from that quarter. But blessed be God, there are some few amongst us that are men of greater latitude, who can think, and dare speak, more worthily of God's sovereignty, and acknowledge a work to be his, though it be not according to the exact measure of *canonical fitness*." Amongst these, I shall be sure to find hearty friends and well-wishers. And if, by others of more confined principles, I am, for this, accounted an enthusiast, papist, or any thing else, they or you are very welcome to confer that, or any other title, upon, Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

George Whitefield

Mr. Whitefield's Will, with the Official Certificates.

Mr. Whitefield's executors having received the probate of his will, February 6, 1771, Mr. Keen, who was perfectly acquainted with every particular of his temporary affairs, immediately published it, with the following preamble:

"As we make no doubt the numerous friends of the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, will be glad of an opportunity of seeing a genuine copy of his last will and testament, his executors have favoured us with a copy of the same, transmitted to them from the Orphan-house, in Georgia, and which they have proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. And as it was Mr. Whitefield's constant declaration, he never meant to raise either a purse or a party, it is to be remarked, that almost the whole money he died possessed of, came to him within two or three years of his death, in the following manner: viz. Mrs. Thompson, of Tower-hill, bequeathed him 500l.—by the death of his wife (including a bond of 300l.), he got 700l. Mr. Whitmore bequeathed him 100l. and Mr. Winder 100l. And it is highly probable, that had he lived to reach Georgia, from his late northern tour, he would have much lessened the above sums, by disposing of them in the same noble and disinterested manner, that all the public or private sums he has been entrusted with, have been.

Georgia.

"*By his Excellency James Wright, Esq. Captain General, Governor and Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's said province of Georgia, Chancellor and Vice-admiral of the same:*

"To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting—Know ye, that Thomas Moodie, who hath certified the annexed copy from the original, in the secretary's office, is deputy-secretary of the said province; and therefore all due faith and credit is, and ought to be had and given to such his certificate.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the great seal of this his Majesty's said province, to be put and affixed, dated at Savannah, the 10th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1770, and in the eleventh year of the reign of his Majesty, King George the Third.

By his Excellency's command,

Thomas Moodie, Dep. Sec. *J. Wright.*

"IN the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three persons, but one God; I GEORGE WHITEFIELD, Clerk, at present residing at the Orphan-house Academy, in the province of Georgia, in North America, being through infinite mercy in more than ordinarily bodily health, and a perfectly sound and composed mind, knowing the certainty of death, and yet the uncertainty of the time I shall be called by it to my long-wished-for home, do make this my last will and testament, in manner and form following, *viz.*

Imprimis— In sure and certain hope of a resurrection to eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ, I commit my body to the dust, to be buried in the

most plain and decent manner; and knowing in whom I have believed, and being persuaded that he will keep that which I have committed unto him, in the fullest assurance of faith, I commend my soul into the hands of the ever-loving, and altogether lovely, never-failing Jesus, on whose complete and everlasting righteousness I entirely depend, for the justification of my person and acceptance of my poor, worthless, though, I trust, sincere performances, at that day when he shall come in the glory of his Father, his own glory, and the glory of his holy Angels, to judge both the quick and dead. In respect to my outward American concerns, which I have engaged in, simply and solely for his great Name's sake, I leave that building, commonly called the Orphan-house, at Bethesda, in the province of Georgia, together with all the other buildings lately erected thereon, and likewise all other buildings, lands, negroes, books, furniture, and every other thing whatsoever which I now stand possessed of in the province of Georgia aforesaid, to that elect lady, that mother in Israel, that mirror of true and undefiled religion, the Right Honourable Selina, Countess Dowager of Huntingdon; desiring, that as soon as may be, after my decease, the plan of the intended Orphan-house, Bethesda College, may be prosecuted, or, if not practicable, or eligible, to pursue the present plan of the Orphan-house Academy, on its old foundation and usual channel; but if her ladyship should be called to enter into her glorious rest before my decease—I bequeath all the buildings, lands, negroes, and every thing before-mentioned, which I now stand possessed of, in the province of Georgia, aforesaid, to my dear first fellow-traveller, and faithful, invariable friend, the Honourable James Habersham, Esq. president of his Majesty's Honourable Council: and should he survive her ladyship, I earnestly recommend him as the most proper person to succeed her ladyship, or to act for her during her ladyship's life-time, in the affairs of the Orphan-house Academy.—With regard to my outward affairs in England; whereas there is a building commonly called the Tabernacle, set apart many years ago for Divine Worship —I give and bequeath the said Tabernacle, with the adjacent house in which I usually reside, when in London, with the stable and coach-house in the yard adjoining, together with all books, furniture, and every thing else whatsoever, that shall be found in the house and premises aforesaid: and also the building commonly called Tottenham-court chapel, together with all the other buildings, houses, stable, coach-house, and every thing else whatsoever which I stand possessed of in that part of the town, to my worthy, trusty, tried friends, Daniel West, Esq. in Church-street, Spitalfields, and Mr. Robert Keen, woollen-draper, in the Minories, or the longer survivor of the two.*—As to the monies, which a kind Providence, especially of

---

* Two persons could not have been more happily associated, than Mr. West and Mr. Keen. They were always regular and exact in the discharge of the weighty duties that devolved upon them. An uninterrupted harmony characterised all their public transactions. It was ever their study to conciliate the affections of the ministers, to promote the glory of Jesus Christ, and the spiritual interests of the congregations; and they had the happiness to see the pleasure of the Lord prosper in their hands.

Mr. Keen breathed out his happy soul into the hands of his Redeemer, on the 30th of January, 1793. His name deserves to be recorded in the annals of the church, as an illustrious example of holiness and zeal in the cause of God.

Mr. West fell asleep in Jesus, on the 30th of September, 1796, in the 70th year of his age. He was for many years a happy subject of divine grace, and a zealous and approved friend of the gospel. For thirteen years before his death, he was greatly affected with a painful malady in his bladder. His sufferings were extreme, both night and day; but was never heard to utter a murmuring expression.

His corpse was carried to Tottenham-court Chapel, attended by a vast number of mourning-coaches, and interred under the communion table, in a vault that contained the remains of Mrs. Whitefield, Mrs. West, and Mr. Keen. The Rev. Mr. Edwards read the burial service, and the Rev. Joel Abraham Knight, delivered an oration. Two funeral sermons were preached on the following sabbath; that in the morning, at Tottenham-court Chapel, by the Rev. Torial Joss, from Psalm cxii. 6. and that in the evening, at the Tabernacle, by the Rev. Matthew Wilks, from John xii. 26.

It is a singular circumstance, that Mr. Whitefield, Mr. Keen, and Mr. West, all died on the 30th day of the month, and Mr. Whitefield, and Mr. West, on the 30th of September.

Mr. West by his last will, bequeathed the management of the places to Samuel Foyster, Esq. and John Wilson, Esq. gentlemen well known in the christian world. *Evangelical Magazine.*

late, in a most unexpected way, and unthought-of means, have vouchsafed to entrust me with—I give and bequeath the sum of one hundred pounds sterling to the Right Honourable Countess Dowager of Huntingdon aforesaid, humbly beseeching her ladyship's acceptance of so small a mite, as a pepper-corn of acknowledgment for the undeserved, unsought-for honour her ladyship conferred upon me, in appointing me, less than the least of all, to be one of her ladyship's domestic chaplains. *Item*, I give and bequeath to my dearly beloved friend, the Honourable James Habersham aforesaid, my late wife's gold-watch, and ten pounds for mourning—to my dear old friend, Gabriel Harris, Esq. of the city of Gloucester, who received and boarded me in his house, when I was helpless and destitute, above thirty-five years ago, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds—to my humble, faithful servant and friend, Mr. Ambrose Wright, if in my service and employ, either in England or America, or elsewhere, at the time of my decease, I give and bequeath the sum of five hundred pounds; to my brother, Mr. Richard Whitefield, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds—to my brother, Mr. Thomas Whitefield, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds, to be given him at the discretion of Mr. Robert Keen—to my brother-in-law, Mr. James Smith, hosier, in the city of Bristol, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds, and thirty pounds also for family mourning—to my niece, Mrs. Frances Hartford, of Bath, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds, and twenty pounds for family mourning—to Mr. J. Crane, now a faithful steward at the Orphan-house Academy, I give and bequeath the sum of forty pounds—to Mr. Benjamin Stirk, as an acknowledgment of his past services, at Bethesda, I give and bequeath the sum of ten pounds for mourning—to Peter Edwards, now at the Orphan-house Academy, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds—to William Trigg, at the same place, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds; both the sums aforesaid to be laid out, or laid up for them, at the discretion of Mr. Ambrose Wright—to Mr. Thomas Adams, of Rodborough, in Gloucestershire, my only surviving first fellow-labourer, and beloved much in the Lord, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds—to the Rev. Mr. Howel Davis, of Pembrokeshire, in South Wales, that good soldier of Jesus Christ; to Mr Torial Joss, Mr. Cornelius Winter, and all my other dearly beloved present stated assistant-preachers at Tabernacle and Tottenham-court chapel, I give and bequeath ten pounds each for mourning—to the three brothers of Mr. Ambrose Wright, and the wife of his brother, Mr. Robert Wright, now faithfully and skilfully labouring and serving at the Orphan-house Academy, I give and bequeath the sum of ten pounds each for mourning—to Mr. Richard Smith, now a diligent attendant on me, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty-pounds, and all my wearing apparel which I shall have with me in my journey through America, or on my voyage to England, if it should please an all-wise God to shorten my days in either of those situations—Finally, I give and bequeath the sum of one hundred pounds, to be distributed at the discretion of my executors, herein after-mentioned, for mourning among my old London servants, the poor widows at Tottenham-court chapel, and the Tabernacle poor, especially my old trusty, disinterested friend and servant, Mrs. Elizabeth Wood. All the other residue, if there be any residue, of monies, goods, and chattels, or whatever profits may arise from the sale of my books, or any manuscripts that I may leave behind, I give and bequeath to the Right Honourable the Countess Dowager of Huntingdon, or, in case of her ladyship's being deceased at the time of my departure, to the Honourable James Habersham, Esq. before-mentioned, after my funeral expences and just debts are discharged, towards paying off my arrears that may be due on the account of the Orphan-house Academy, or for annual prizes, as a reward for the best three orations that shall be made in English on the subjects men-

tioned in a paper annexed to this my will. And I do hereby appoint the Honourable James Habersham Esq. aforesaid, to be my executor in respect to my affairs in the province of Georgia, and my trusty, tried, dearly beloved friends, Charles Hardy, Esq. Daniel West, Esq. and Mr. Robert Keen, to be executors of this my last will and testament, in respect of my affairs in England, begging each to accept of a mourning ring.

To all my other christian benefactors, and more intimate acquaintance, I leave my most hearty thanks and blessing, assuring them that I am more and more convinced of the undoubted reality, and infinite importance of the grand gospel-truths which I have from time to time delivered; and am so far from repenting my delivering them in an itinerant way, that had I strength equal to my inclination, I would preach them from pole to pole, not only because I have found them to be the power of God to the salvation of my own soul, but because I am as much assured that the Great Head of the church hath called me by his word, providence and spirit, to act in this way, as that the sun shines at noon-day. As for my enemies, and misjudging, mistaken friends, I most freely and heartily forgive them, and can only add, that the last tremendous day will soon discover what I have been, what I am, and what I shall be, when time itself shall be no more; and therefore, from my inmost soul, I close all, by crying, *Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly; even so, Lord Jesus, Amen and Amen.*

George Whitefield

" This was written with the testator's own hand, and at his desire, and in his presence, sealed, signed, and delivered, at the Orphan-house academy, in the province of Georgia, before us witnesses, *Anno Domini*, March the 22d, 1770

(*Signed*) *Robert Bolton,*
Thomas Dixon,
Cornelius Winter.

" N.B. I also leave a mourning ring to my honoured and dear friends and disinterested fellow-labourers, the Rev. Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, in token of my indissoluble union with them, in heart and christian affection, notwithstanding our difference in judgment about some particular points of doctrine.—Grace be with all them, of whatever denomination, that love our Lord Jesus, our common Lord, in sincerity."

' *Georgia, Secretary's Office.*

' A true copy, taken from the original in this office, examined and certified: and I do further certify that the same was duly proved; and the Honourable James Habersham, Esq. one of the executors therein-named, was duly qualified as executor before his excellency James Wright, Esq. governor and ordinary of the said province, this 10th day of December, 1770.

Thomas Moodie,
Dep. Sec.

Printed by Joyce Gold, Shoe-lane, London.